"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, mostly sunny, hot, especially during the afternoon, high 90. **Tonight,** evening thunderstorm and a shower, low 62. **Tomorrow,** cloudy, high 68. Weather map is on Page B9.

VOL. CLXXII . . . No. 59,807 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 2023 $4.00

Eye on Water, Arizona Caps New Housing

Safeguarding Resource As Climate Warms

By CHRISTOPHER FLAVELLE and JACK HEALY

Arizona has determined that there is not enough groundwater for all of the housing construction that has already been approved in the Phoenix area, and will stop developers from building some new subdivisions, a sign of looming trouble in the West and other places where overuse, drought and climate change are straining water supplies.

The decision by state officials very likely means the beginning of the end to the explosive development that has made the Phoenix area the fastest-growing metropolitan region in the country.

The state said it would not revoke building permits that have already been issued and is instead counting on new water conservation measures and alternative sources to produce the water necessary for housing developments that have already been approved.

On Thursday, Governor Katie Hobbs, a Democrat, said Arizona was not immediately running dry and that new construction would continue in major cities like Phoenix. The analysis prepared by the state looked at groundwater levels over the next 100 years.

"We're going to manage this situation," she said at a news conference. "We are not out of water and we will not be running out of water."

Maricopa County, which includes Phoenix and its suburbs, gets more than half its water supply from groundwater. Most of the rest comes from rivers and aqueducts as well as recycled wastewater. In practical terms, groundwater is a finite resource; it can take thousands of years or longer to be replenished.

The announcement of a groundwater shortage means Arizona would no longer give developers in some areas of Maricopa County new permits to construct homes

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REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cities and developers in Phoenix's metropolitan area will need to look for alternatives to groundwater if they want to keep building.

Racism as Narrative, Not an Issue, for G.O.P. Candidates of Color

Describing Experiences Even as They Deny a Systemic Problem

By JONATHAN WEISMAN and TRIP GABRIEL

CHARLESTON, S.C. — Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina opened his presidential candidacy with a story of the nation's bitter, racist past. It is one that he tells often, of a grandfather forced from school in the third grade to pick cotton in the Jim Crow South.

A rival for the Republican nomination, Nikki Haley, speaks of the loneliness and isolation of growing up in small-town South Carolina as the child of immigrants and part of the only Indian family around. Larry Elder, a conservative commentator and long-shot presidential candidate, talks to all-white audiences about his father, a Pullman porter in the segregated South, who carried tinned fish and crackers in his pockets "because he never knew whether he'd be able to get a meal."

Such biographical details are useful reminders of how far the G.O.P.'s candidates of color have come to reach the pinnacle of national politics, a run for the presidency. But in bolstering their own bootstrap biographies with stories of discrimination, they have put forth views about race that at times appear at odds with their view of the country — often denying the existence of a system of racism in America while describing situations that sound just like it.

"I'm living proof that America is the land of opportunity and not a land of oppression," Mr. Scott says in a new campaign advertisement running in Iowa, though he has spoken of his grandfather's forced illiteracy and his own experiences being pulled over by the police seven times in one year "for driving a new car."

The clashing views of the role that race plays in America are a major theme of the 2024 election, underpinning cultural battles over "wokeness."

Yet behind the debate over structural racism — a codified program of segregation and subjugation that suppressed minority achievement long ago and, many scholars say, has left people of color still struggling — is a secondary debate over the meaning of the stories politicians tell about themselves.

That has sometimes made the discussion of race in this presidential primary awkward but also revealing, and has underscored a central difference between the two parties. Republican candi-

Continued on Page A15

SENATE ON VERGE OF ENDING CRISIS OVER DEBT LIMIT

LATE PUSH FOR VOTES

Party Leaders Scramble to Resolve Dispute on Pentagon Funding

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — After weeks of political impasse, tense negotiations and mounting economic anxiety, the Senate on Thursday night was on the brink of giving final approval to bipartisan legislation suspending the debt limit and imposing new spending caps, and sending it to President Biden to end the possibility of a calamitous government default.

The action would bring to a close a political showdown that began brewing as soon as Republicans narrowly won the House in November, promising to use their new majority and the threat of a default to try to extract spending and policy concessions from Mr. Biden.

The president refused for months to engage with Speaker Kevin McCarthy, but finally did so after the California Republican managed in April to pass a G.O.P. fiscal plan, spurring negotiations with the White House that produced the compromise last weekend.

The agreement would suspend the debt limit until January 2025, allowing the government to borrow unlimited sums to pay its debts and assuring that another fight would not occur before the next presidential election. It would set new spending levels that will be tested as Congress begins to write its annual spending bills. Other policy changes on energy project permitting and work requirements on social benefits were also included.

"America can breathe a sigh of relief, because we are avoiding default," said Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader.

The Senate was moving toward a final vote after an afternoon of closed-door talks to resolve a last-minute flare-up over Pentagon funding, ignited by Senate Republicans who said the debt-limit package severely underfunded the military. Senate leaders resolved the dispute with a formal statement that the debt-limit deal "does nothing to limit the Senate's ability to appropriate emergency supplemental funds to ensure our military capabilities."

The statement came after a day of uncertainty as a handful of Republican defense hawks complained that the deal — negotiated without input from the Senate — would under-fund the military, and they demanded a commit-

Continued on Page A12

A MIXED BAG The speaker emerges from the debt limit fight with wins, and losses. PAGE A13

NO CROWING President Biden's measured messaging avoided inflaming Republicans. PAGE A12

NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Riabyi, 26, a Ukrainian serviceman who is part of a two-person antiaircraft missile crew near Kyiv.

NEWS ANALYSIS

His Own Words Could Haunt Trump in Documents Inquiry

*This article is by **Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Swan** and **Alan Feuer**.*

The revelation that federal prosecutors have a recording of former President Donald J. Trump discussing a highly sensitive document in his possession after he left office underscores the weight of the evidence that the special counsel Jack Smith is assembling as he approaches a decision about whether to bring criminal charges.

The recording, according to people briefed on its contents, captured Mr. Trump in July 2021 discussing a document that he said related to military planning for confronting Iran. During the conversation, Mr. Trump signaled his awareness of his inability to declassify the document because he had already left office, they said.

If that description of the recording proves correct — and Mr. Trump's lawyers have been careful not to confirm or deny it — it would undercut one of the key defenses that Mr. Trump's advisers have offered in their effort to justify why he was allowed to hold onto some of the government's most sensitive secrets after leaving the White

Continued on Page A14

'We Have No Days Off': Ukraine's Air Defenses

A Patchwork Network That Withstood 17 May Attacks

By MARC SANTORA

KYIV, Ukraine — Find it, target it, shoot it.

The drill is the same for Ukraine's air defense crews as they work round the clock to combat the relentless barrage of missiles the Russians launch at Kyiv, mostly foiling the most intense bombardment of the capital since the first weeks of the war.

In the month of May alone, Russia bombarded Kyiv 17 times. It has fired hypersonic missiles from MIG-31 fighter jets and attacked with land-based ballistic missiles powerful enough to level an entire apartment block. Russian bombers and ships have fired dozens of long-range cruise missiles, and more than 200 attack drones have featured in blitzes meant to confuse and overwhelm Ukrainian air defenses.

It presents a constant struggle for Ukrainian defenders. Russian assaults can be unrelenting. They come mostly at night, but sometimes in daytime hours, as they did on Monday.

Even when Ukraine manages to blast missiles from the sky, falling debris can bring death and destruction. Early Thursday, Russia sent a volley of 10 ballistic missiles

Continued on Page A8

Adams Loves a Good Tale. Some May Be Tall.

A Mayor Who Is Eager to Connect With New Yorkers

By EMMA G. FITZSIMMONS

If there is one thing that Mayor Eric Adams has shown in his rise to power in New York City, it's that he knows the value of telling a good story.

There was the one about the family's pet rat, Mickey, and the one about the gang fight, when he got hit in the head with a bat with a nail in it.

And just last week, Mr. Adams recalled a new detail from the oft-told story of his teenage arrest: Soon after he was taken into custody, he said, the police discovered he was carrying fake gold chains.

"I used to go and sell them on Canal Street to the tourists," he said at a community event. "Listen, the statute of limitations is over."

Two days later, Mr. Adams casually mentioned that he had been a skateboarder and "knew how to do a few tricks." Ample evidence, including his very brief attempt at gingerly boarding a skateboard last year, suggests he may be rusty.

You could look it up, as Casey Stengel, the fabled manager of the Yankees and the Mets, was fond of saying decades ago. But in the mayor's case, you often cannot.

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INTERNATIONAL A4-9

Conflict Shrouds Pride Parade

Much of Israel's L.G.B.T.Q. community feels threatened by the country's most right-wing government ever. PAGE A6

China Adopts Tougher Posture

Beijing pushes to set the terms of its re-engagement with Washington as it

NATIONAL A10-17

Behind a City's Shimmer

Miami's strong economy has its mayor weighing a presidential run. But a local trial has exposed the municipality's ugly inner workings. PAGE A10

Tracking L.G.B.T.Q. Suicides

Death investigators in Utah are part of an effort to collect data on sexual orientation and gender identity related to suicides in the United States. PAGE A16

Airbnb Sues New York City

Hosts are not allowed to rent out homes for less than 30 days if they are not also present. But Airbnb says the new re-

WEEKEND ARTS C1-16

'Pablo-Matic' Picasso, and More

Hannah Gadsby curates a show about the artist that also has works, above, by May Stevens and others. PAGE C1

Expanding the 'Spider-Verse'

A sequel to the 2018 animated film not only replicates its charm but builds on

BUSINESS B1-5

Let Them 'Eat Bitterness'

With youth unemployment at a record, China's leader, Xi Jinping, and the Communist Party are trying to reset expectations about social mobility by talking up the virtue of hardship. PAGE B1

Justices Back an Employer

In what is seen as a setback for organized labor, the Supreme Court ruled that federal law did not protect a Teamsters union local from liability for damage that arose during a strike. PAGE B1

OPINION A18-19

SPORTS B6-7

The French Fan Legion

Roland Garros is famously supportive of hometown players, win or lose. Which is good, because no French player has won the singles title in decades. PAGE B6

VISIT…

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Inside The Times

The New York Times

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The Story Behind the Story

The Golden State Gets the Magazine Treatment

By RAHA NADDAF
Raha Naddaf is a story editor for The New York Times Magazine based in San Leandro, Calif. She edited the magazine's first-ever California issue.

The New York Times Magazine is doing something this weekend that it has never done before: dedicating an entire issue to California.

When conceiving of the issue, I was thrilled to think more deeply about what's next for a state that has always seemed to be at the frontier of so much transformation. A state whose entire mythology is wrapped up in the notion of dreaming, of starting fresh, of reinvention.

The idea for the California issue occurred to us last year; the number of our readers who are based on the West Coast inspired us to replace the annual New York issue this year with one dedicated to California.

As one of the magazine's story editors, I edit feature stories. I was previously the executive editor of The California Sunday Magazine, which covered the American West. There, I worked with a small and industrious team dedicated to finding stories, and featuring writers, largely from California.

I am now based in San Leandro, but I've lived in California during various stages of my life and witnessed its rebirths firsthand. In the 1980s, I spent my elementary school years living in the Oakland hills, when such a thing was far more affordable. I remember never being able to plant flowers in our backyard because the deer would devour them immediately.

I spent my college years at U.C. Berkeley and got my first job in the heart of San Francisco, before the electric scooters and delivery robots descended. I eventually moved to New York, seeing California only in short spurts during the holidays, watching the hills roll by on my way to and from the airport. I've been back now for about six years, and I have enjoyed watching my kids develop their own personal relationships with this state.

With every re-entry into California, I've encountered a new version of the state. I've watched it become drier and more expensive. I've marveled at its natural beauty, my eyes never quite adjusting. I've watched neighborhoods crop up, spreading deeper into the suburbs, while cities have struggled to build.

So much seems to have changed in such a short time: We have been reshaped by fire and drought and tech and money and politics. As someone who lives here, and has lived here before, and before that, I wonder how the state will continue to transform. What Californias will my kids discover as they grow?

That's the lens through which I envisioned the California issue, which was published online this week and will be available in print this weekend. I worked with a talented team of editors and writers, many of whom live or have lived in California, including Mark Arax, a Fresno native; Daniel Duane, who grew up in Berkeley; and Héctor Tobar, Conor Dougherty, and Laila Lalami, all of whom live in Los Angeles. The issue explores Silicon Valley's obsession with A.I., how YIMBY-ism is reshaping housing in the Bay Area and the shifting political landscape in the San Joaquin Valley.

It also dives into the state's evolving relationship with extreme bouts of wet and dry, the future of California's ability to set policy in other states, Southern California's embrace of Latinidad and what the state's history can tell us about where we're headed.

The project took roughly six months to come together, and the biggest challenge, at least in my mind, was how to meaningfully capture this sprawling state within a single issue of a magazine. California is the most populous state in the union, the third largest in size, and has one of the largest economies in the world. Its people are diverse. So are its politics and its geographical regions. In order to wrap my head around it all, I spoke with several writers who have studied California, who have lived here and who have written books about the state. In short, I spoke to people infinitely smarter than I am, many of whom ended up contributing to the issue.

From those conversations, an argument began to form: California has long been the country's trial balloon. It's a place that leads the way — it championed gay marriage and broke through in nuclear fusion. So I kept asking myself a single question, and designed an issue around trying to answer it: What's the future of the state that has long offered a vision of the future to the rest of the country? Because, in a lot of ways, what happens in California — and what will happen next in California — matters, even if you don't live here.

PALOMA DOOLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

BERKELEY A plan to turn a parking lot into high-density housing ignited a backlash.

DEVIN OKTAR YALKIN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRESNO Some of the country's worst poverty exists among great agricultural riches.

DEB LEAL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

LYNWOOD Latino culture is resurgent in places like the Plaza Mexico shopping center.

A version of this essay first appeared in California Today. Sign up at nytimes.com/newsletters. For more on California, read this weekend's magazine.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Corrections A15
Crossword C15
Obituaries B8
Opinion A18-19
Weather B9
Classified Ads B7

VIDEO "Popcast (Deluxe)," a new weekly video show hosted by Jon Caramanica and Joe Coscarelli of the "Popcast" podcast, breaks down the essential pop culture story lines. The first episode includes segments on Morgan Wallen, the Dare and more. *nytimes.com/music*

QUIZ The Book Review's latest Quiz Bowl focuses on novels from the past 25 years with ties to major European cities. Can you name the city associated with each book? *nytimes.com/books*

T LIST See what piqued the interest of T Magazine's editors this week, including an exhibit of natural ceramics in New York City, coffee-inspired jewelry and a new boutique hotel in Mexico City. *tmagazine.com*

Quote of the Day

"At my emotional low point, I wished I were a robot. I thought to myself if I didn't have emotions, I would not feel helpless, powerless and disappointed."

MS. ZHANG, *a Shanghai woman struggling to find work amid record unemployment for young people in China, with little sympathy from leaders. Page B1.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

An Inside Look at Covid's Lasting Damage to the Lungs To better understand the long-term impact of Covid's assault on the lungs, a Times Health team spoke with patients who were hospitalized during the pandemic's early waves, interviewed doctors who treated them and reviewed C.T. scans of their lungs. The Times team analyzed data points from the scans to reconstruct the patients' lungs in 3-D.

Iceland Is a Magnet for Tourists. Its First Lady Has Some Advice for Them. In the two decades since she moved to her adopted country of Iceland, Eliza Reid, wife of Gudni Johannesson, the country's president, saw tourism grow to over two million visitors per year before the pandemic. In an interview, she talked about the best way for visitors to meet Icelanders and what she thinks of the term overtourism.

Millennials Are Not an Exception. They've Moved to the Right. In the last decade, nearly every cohort of voters under 50 has shifted toward the right, based on analysis of thousands of survey interviews archived at the Roper Center. Nate Cohn, The Times's chief political analyst, examined the trend for The Tilt, a suscriber-only newsletter.

We Spoke With 5 People Who Work With A.I. Here's What Keeps Them Up at Night. Interest in artificial intelligence has exploded over the past six months. To get more insights, opinions and personal stories on the phenomenon, a Times team spoke with five practitioners who have built close relationships with A.I. and asked them the same eight questions. A Times video includes A.I.-generated artistic and stylistic references with each conversation.

A Headline From History

ICELANDIC ACCORD SIGNED BY BRITAIN

June 2, 1976. Britain and Iceland signed a temporary agreement ending a long dispute over fishing rights, according to an Associated Press article published in The Times. The two North Atlantic nations had broken off diplomatic relations the previous year, a contentious point in the "cod wars," a long-simmering disagreement over British fishing near Iceland. In 1975, Iceland imposed a limit on the amount of cod British trawlers could take from its waters, resulting in dozens of collisions and a shooting incident between vessels, according to the article. The new accord restricted the number of British trawlers in Icelandic waters to 24 a day. British fishing vessels also had to remain 20 to 30 miles from the Icelandic coast. Officials in the British fishing industry estimated that "loss of the fishing territory would cost 9,000 jobs."

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GIZEM VURAL

Facts of Interest

A study of more than 10,000 suicides among young adults reported to the C.D.C. database found that only 20 percent included information on the deceased's sexuality or gender identity.

Utah Is Driving Push to Fill Void On L.G.B.T.Q. Suicide Data A16

According to the trade publication Pollstar, Billy Joel's residency at Madison Square Garden has played to nearly 1.7 million people through its 89th performance in April, and sold $207 million in tickets.

Billy Joel's Madison Square Garden Run to End in 2024 C13

A French player has not won the French Open men's singles tournament since Yannick Noah in 1983 or the women's singles tournament since Mary Pierce in 2000.

A Love Game. Unconditionally. B6

In 2022, Andy Warhol's 1964 silk-screen of the actress' face, "Shot Sage Blue Marilyn," sold for about $195 million at auction. Only Leonardo da Vinci's "Salvator Mundi" has topped it at auction.

The Smothering Effect Of Admiration C7

A record 11.6 million college graduates are entering the work force this year in China, and one in five young people is unemployed.

China's Grads Struggle to Find Work. Xi Shrugs. B1

New York City remains one of Airbnb's most important markets. The platform said in a lawsuit filed against the city that its net revenue in 2022 from short-term rentals in New York was $85 million.

Airbnb Sues New York City Over Limits On Rentals A17

Reader Corner

From the Comments Forum

FIN COSTELLO/REDFERNS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Tina Turner performing in 1982. Fans drew from the energy she released on stage.

Tina Turner died on May 24 at 83. For decades, she stunned audiences with her live performances as a member of the Ike and Tina Turner Revue and later as a solo artist. On her New York Times obituary online, many readers shared their memories of witnessing her powerful vocals and physical magnetism in person. Below are a few examples. These comments have been edited.

I saw her in the 1980s in Australia at one of those "ill-conceived cabaret bookings" that had been made prior to the release of "Private Dancer." This was not a gig she now needed, but she honored the commitment and that said a lot. We were at the head table and could touch the stage. It was the most memorable performance of my life.
— MARK HOGDEN, PORT ORCHARD, WASH.

What an incandescent light she was! I saw her at the Del Mar Fair in San Diego in the late '70s as she was making her way back from her breakup. The show was free with the price of entry to the fair. The grandstand was packed and I watched the show standing up and through a space in the back of the seats. The energy, the smile, the pure joy she radiated. She lifted us all.
— KAREN FONSECA, SAN DIEGO

Listen In

Excerpts From New York Times Audio

One sticking point for members of the Writers Guild of America, which went on strike last month, is the use of artificial intelligence in TV and film writing. The guild wants limits on language models such as Open AI's ChatGPT addressed in its next contract with the big entertainment studios. Noam Scheiber, a labor reporter for The Times who is covering the strike, hosted a conversation with Erica Weiss, a TV writer, showrunner and W.G.A. member, on Twitter. She described the guild's concerns with A.I. in an edited excerpt below.

What remains your biggest nightmare or anxiety about how chat bots and generative A.I. will change the work that you've come to love?

I don't think they're going to use robots to write our scripts. But I do think that when it comes to material that's based on intellectual property, like novels, graphic novels or comic books, there is a potential shortcut through some kind of A.I. program that would generate something just coherent enough to bring in a writer to rewrite it and make it good enough to stand out. That could translate to television episodes and not only relegate the role of a writer to a rewriter and pose immense economic challenges to our careers, but also overrun the marketplace even more than it is now.

Things that can be generated by A.I. are never going to be the things that touch people on a deep level that help change and inform society, that make people feel seen. And I don't think that's really the thing that people who run the industry are as concerned about as we are in the guild.

Follow @nytimesevents on Twitter for live conversations with Times reporters.

The Mini Crossword

1	2	3	4	5
6				
7				
8				
■	9			■

6/2/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 Sudden burst of lightning
6 Weapon in a joust
7 Goad
8 Author of "The War of the Worlds" and "The Time Machine"
9 Visibly embarrassed

DOWN
1 Winged it?
2 Beer style with a German name
3 90° is the right one
4 Reprimand
5 Partners of roosters

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

■	B	L	T	■
Q	U	A	R	K
U	N	T	I	L
O	N	E	P	M
■	Y	R	S	■

Here to Help

A Recipe For Strawberry Drop Biscuits

Somewhat of a cross between a muffin top and a biscuit, these breakfast treats are easy to make: No rolling or cutting is required, and almost everything is mixed in one bowl. They bake up crunchy on the outside but are tender once you break them open. **JERRELLE GUY**

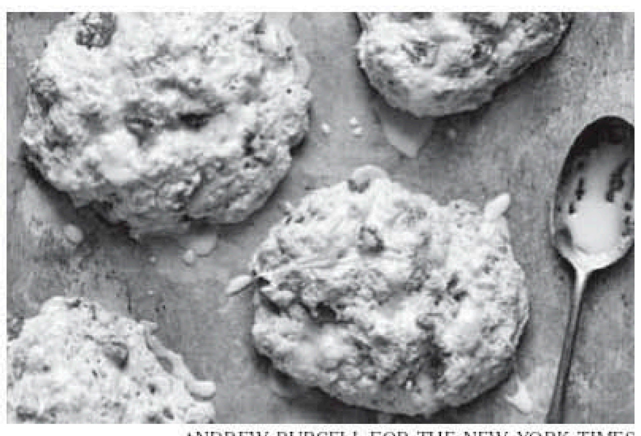
TIME: 30 MINUTES
YIELD: 6 BISCUITS

- **1½ cups/190 grams all-purpose flour**
- **¼ cup/50 grams granulated sugar**
- **4 teaspoons baking powder**
- **6 tablespoons/85 grams cold salted butter, cut into ½-inch cubes**
- **4 medium strawberries, cut into small ¼-inch or ½-inch pieces (about ⅔ cup/100 grams), or whole blueberries, raspberries or other diced stone fruit**
- **6 tablespoons heavy cream, plus more if needed**
- **¼ cup/30 grams unsifted confectioners' sugar**

1. Arrange an oven rack in the center of the oven. Heat the oven to 425 degrees. Line a sheet pan with parchment. Set aside.

2. Whisk together the flour, granulated sugar and baking powder in a large mixing bowl. Toss the pieces of butter into the flour mixture to coat. Using a pastry cutter or your fingers, work the butter into the flour until the mixture is mealy with pea-size pieces of butter.

3. Add the diced strawberries and toss with a fork to combine. Make a well in the center of the mixture and add 4 tablespoons of the heavy cream and ¼ cup water. Continue tossing with the fork until the dough is just evenly damp and shaggy, being careful not to overwork the dough. Add 1 to 3 teaspoons more water, as


ANDREW PURCELL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES
FOOD STYLIST: CARRIE PURCELL

needed, if the dough is still too dry to work with.

4. Drop 6 mounds of dough (each a generous ⅓ cup) onto the baking sheet, leaving at least 1½ inches of space between each mound and gently padding any stray bits of dough back into place as you work. Lightly brush the tops with 1 tablespoon heavy cream and bake until deep golden brown and cooked through, about 15 minutes. Remove from the oven and transfer the biscuits to a wire rack to cool for 5 minutes.

5. Add the confectioners' sugar to a small bowl, and whisk in the remaining 1 tablespoon heavy cream, adding more if needed to make a thick icing that is just thin enough to drizzle. Spoon over the warm biscuits; serve warm or at room temperature.

For more recipes, visit New York Times Cooking at nytcooking.com.

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HOW HWEE YOUNG/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

China's Defense Minister, General Li Shangfu, second from left, speaking with his counterpart in Singapore on Thursday. Beijing rejected an invitation for a defense meeting with the U.S.

'Thaw' in Relationship Of U.S. and China Is Fraught and Halting

Beijing Pushes to Set the Terms Of Engagement and Rebuffs a Meeting

POOL PHOTO BY FRANCK ROBICHON

U.S. Secretary of Defense Lloyd J. Austin III reviewing the honor guard at the Japanese Defense Ministry in Tokyo on Thursday. Next on his agenda is to travel to Singapore, India and France.

DVIDS, VIA AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

TINGSHU WANG/REUTERS

Last Friday, a Chinese jet flew in front of the nose of an American spy plane over the South China Sea. The U.S. called maneuver "unnecessarily aggressive." China blamed the U.S. for flying too close to its borders. Left, Tesla's C.E.O., Elon Musk, in Beijing on Wednesday.

By NICOLE HONG

For a few weeks, a flurry of meetings between American and Chinese officials seemed to signal that the two countries were trying to reduce tensions, after months of rancor and frozen high-level contacts raised concerns about the risk of a conflict, accidental or otherwise.

First the U.S. national security adviser, Jake Sullivan, met with China's top diplomat, Wang Yi, in Vienna, in May. Then the two countries' top commerce officials held talks, the first bilateral cabinet-level meeting in Washington in months. China's ambassador also arrived in Washington last week, finally filling a post that had been vacant since January.

But even as Beijing has returned to the table on some issues, it has also struck an even tougher posture, complicating the "thaw" in U.S.-China relations that President Biden had predicted last month. China has questioned Washington's sincerity, pushed back on U.S. tech export controls by imposing its own restrictions and demanded the dropping of sanctions.

Beijing rejected an invitation for China's defense minister, Li Shangfu, to meet with Defense Secretary Lloyd J. Austin III at a security meeting this weekend in Singapore, the Pentagon said this week. And last Friday, a Chinese jet buzzed an American spy plane over the South China Sea and flew directly in front of the plane's nose, a maneuver the U.S. military called "unnecessarily aggressive."

"China tends to look at access to its senior leaders as a reward for acquiescence, rather than a tool for creating stability or resolving differences," said Drew Thompson, a former U.S. defense official who is currently a fellow at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy at the National University of Singapore. "You have to meet China on their terms in order to get a meeting."

The Pentagon called China's rejection of the meeting at this week's Shangri-La Dialogue security forum in Singapore an example of Beijing's "concerning" unwillingness to engage on military issues. Mr. Li, who was appointed to his position in March, has been under U.S. sanctions since 2018 over the purchase of military equipment from Russia. Pentagon officials have said these do not prevent Mr. Li from meeting Mr. Austin.

But China has argued that sanctions against Chinese officials are an obstacle to improving the relationship. Mao Ning, a spokeswoman for China's foreign ministry, said Washington should lift the sanctions against Mr. Li and "create favorable conditions for dialogue." On Tuesday, she reiterated China's position that Washington should "immediately correct wrong practices" if it wants to restore communication between the militaries.

China wants to meet with U.S. officials without what it sees as demeaning circumstances, said Shen Dingli, a professor of international relations at Fudan University in Shanghai.

"We want to have a meeting based on mutual respect," Professor Shen said. "We want the U.S. to lift the sanctions and to seek a compromise by mutual concession."

In recent years, the U.S. has sanctioned Chinese officials and companies over allegations of human rights abuses, tech espionage and a range of other issues.

The U.S. and China have incentive to seek a steadier footing ahead of the annual Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in November in San Francisco, which will be closely watched for any meeting between Mr. Biden and China's leader, Xi Jinping. Though both governments have said they want to arrest the downward spiral in relations that was set off in February when the U.S. downed a suspected Chinese spy balloon, their motives for doing so are not always aligned.

U.S. officials want open lines of military communication with China. As the jet interception last week showed, the two countries' militaries regularly patrol disputed areas such as the South China Sea, heightening the risk of an unintentional conflict. On Thursday, Mr. Austin said some of China's activities in international airspace and waterways were "provocative." (Beijing, for its part, blamed the United States for deploying aircraft and vessels too close to Chinese borders.)

Mr. Biden has talked about erecting "guardrails" to prevent U.S.-China competition from veering into a crisis. But Chinese officials have rejected that suggestion as an effort by Washington to contain and suppress China's rise.

"In the absence of dialogue, there are unacceptable risks to both sides," said Bonnie Glaser, director of the Indo-Pacific Program at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. That includes, she said, the risk of "sleepwalking into a conflict over Taiwan."

The U.S. also sees the potential for deeper cooperation with China on issues like mitigating climate change and relieving debt in poor countries, arenas where the two rivals are more likely to find common ground than in sensitive military and security issues.

John Kerry, Mr. Biden's climate envoy, said last month that China invited him to visit in the "near term." Treasury Secretary Janet Yellen also said in April that she hopes to visit China, calling for a "constructive" and "healthy" economic relationship.

For China, restarting trade talks with the U.S. could help revive the domestic economy. China's recovery this year, after three years of strict "zero Covid" restrictions, has been uneven, and growth in exports has slowed. Geopolitical tensions, as well as China's focus on national security, have created an uncertain business environment.

"We want to talk about how we can export to the U.S. without hurting U.S. national security, and how the U.S. can access the Chinese market while respecting China," said Professor Shen of Fudan University.

Seeking to court businesses, China has welcomed a series of visits by prominent entrepreneurs, including Tim Cook, Apple's chief executive, in March, and Elon Musk, Tesla's chief executive, this week.

On Tuesday, China's foreign minister, Qin Gang, used a meeting with Mr. Musk to convey Beijing's talking points that a "healthy, stable and constructive" relationship between the U.S. and China benefited both countries, and the world. Mr. Qin said the two countries needed to know when to "step on the brakes" to "avoid dangerous driving," and when to "step on the gas pedal" to promote cooperation.

China may also feel pressure to engage with the U.S. to push back against sweeping restrictions announced by the Biden administration in October to block Beijing's access to critical U.S. technologies, such as semiconductors. China is incensed by Washington's efforts to rally allies like Japan and the Netherlands to similarly cut off chip exports to China, moves that have hurt the Chinese economy.

In what analysts saw as a retaliatory move, the Chinese government last week announced a ban on certain companies buying products from Micron Technology, a U.S.-based microchip manufacturer.

"When China talks about finding stability in the relationship, it's often more about getting the U.S. to relieve strategic pressure on China," said Paul Haenle, a former director for China on the National Security Council under the Bush and Obama administrations. "They want the U.S. to stop with the sanctions, stop with the export controls."

Even with talks restarted, some issues may be difficult or impossible to resolve. Washington has repeatedly warned of consequences if China provides lethal aid to Russia, Beijing's close strategic partner, in Moscow's war in Ukraine. Bipartisan political moves in the U.S. to confront China could limit the space for Biden administration efforts at rapprochement, analysts say.

In a commentary last week, People's Daily, the main newspaper of the Communist Party, said Ambassador Xie Feng's arrival in Washington on May 23 was "a sign of détente that is pulling the strained relationship from the brink."

But the article also blamed American policymakers for damaging the relationship, saying improved relations hinged on whether Washington was willing to "refrain from damaging mutual trust, avoid misunderstanding and miscalculation, and take concrete steps to deliver on its promises."

China Invests In Collecting Intelligence That Is Public

Report Says U.S. Data Is Often Obtainable By Open-Source Efforts

By JULIAN E. BARNES

WASHINGTON — China's intelligence agencies are investing deeply in open-source intelligence to learn more about the capabilities of the American military in the Pacific and beyond, according to a new report.

The analysis, by the threat intelligence company Recorded Future, details efforts by China's government and companies to collect publicly available data from the Pentagon, think tanks and private firms — information Beijing's military can use to help plan for a potential conflict with the United States.

Why It Matters: Beijing's open-source data gathering could give it an advantage.

As the relationship between the United States and China has become more adversarial, both countries are investing more in their intelligence collection capabilities.

With Beijing's investments in big data management, mining publicly available sources of information could give China an advantage in collecting intelligence on the United States and its allies.

While autocratic countries like China hide information about their military, the United States — as a democracy that tries to be responsive to its public — puts out a plethora of information about its military capabilities, doctrine and planning.

China can mine that information, looking for material it can use to its own military advantages. For example, the report details some of the work one prominent Chinese open-source intelligence company has done to analyze publicly available insights from the Office of Net Assessment, the Pentagon's in-house think tank. Recorded Future also outlined how China has tried to gather information put out by the Naval War College in Newport, R.I.

"The U.S. Naval War College has a China Maritime Studies Institute, and it produces a lot of open-source research on China," said Zoe Haver, a threat intelligence analyst with Recorded Future. "This is done in an academic setting, but ultimately foreign governments consider this valuable intelligence."

Military officials did not immediately comment on the report's findings.

Background: China is mining information on U.S. military.

China's secret intelligence-gathering abilities have grown in leaps and bounds in recent decades, and Beijing's investment in open-source information has intensified over the last decade.

The definition of open-source intelligence is broad, but Recorded Future looked at information that the intelligence agencies of China's People's Liberation Army were using to help them make plans and develop the military.

Recorded Future has examined contracts that the army has issued to private Chinese companies to gather a range of open-source information, including material about the U.S. military and its work on the defense of Taiwan.

"The P.L.A. very much assumes the United States will in some form intervene in a Taiwan conflict, and they work very hard to prepare for that type of scenario," Ms. Haver said.

Much of what Beijing is mining from open-source data may well be available in one Chinese spy agency or another. But China's intelligence agencies are walled off from one another and do not share information, according to Recorded Future's analysts. And it may be easier for parts of the P.L.A.'s intelligence arms to develop open-source information about American capabilities than to request classified information from a sister spy agency.

What's Next: Open-source collection presents a challenge for democracies.

Recorded Future acknowledges there are security concerns given the information the United States and its allies make public, but cutting off broad access to the data may not be the answer.

Instead, Ms. Haver said Recorded Future hoped awareness of Chinese open-source intelligence gathering would help private-sector companies, the military and other government agencies better manage that risk and make it harder for automatic web crawlers to scrape information from public databases or websites. She also encouraged private companies to conduct due diligence about Chinese firms trying to purchase access to their information.

"At the end of the day, we don't expect Western countries to close off their information environments," Ms. Haver said. "That would not even be a good thing. We value openness."

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Conflict With Israel's Far Right Over Gay Rights Shrouds a Pride Parade

By ISABEL KERSHNER

OHAD ZWIGENBERG/ASSOCIATED PRESS

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AHMAD GHARABLI/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Despite calls to stay away from the Jerusalem Pride and Tolerance Parade on Thursday, Itamar Ben-Gvir, Israel's ultranationalist national security minister, left center, visited both the parade, top, to cries of "Shame!"; and a nearby counter-demonstration, right.

JERUSALEM — One ultraconservative member of the Israeli government had pledged to abolish the Jerusalem Pride and Tolerance Parade. Another far-right minister with a history of homophobia, Itamar Ben-Gvir, who now oversees the police, was tasked with securing it.

The Jerusalem parade is normally a relatively staid annual tradition. But the event that took place on Thursday came at a fraught moment for Israel, five months after the most hard-line and religiously conservative government in the country's history took power.

Organizers said that an initial count showed that 30,000 people — many of them dancing and waving rainbow flags — had gathered to join the march. The number was two or three times the usual crowd at the Jerusalem event, they said.

L.G.B.T.Q. activists have reported a sharp increase in antigay abuse and violence in Israel in recent months, and had been expecting a large turnout for this year's parade. They braced for possible violence, but the march went off peacefully under heavy security, with about 2,000 police officers deployed along the short route.

Lehava, an extremist organization led by one of Mr. Ben-Gvir's longtime associates, held a small counter-demonstration nearby against what it called the "abomination parade." Lehava, which promotes strict separation of Jews and non-Jews, has been described by groups promoting religious tolerance as inciting ethnic hatred and even violence, and its leader has called for the expulsion of Christians from Israel.

Despite calls from the gay community for Mr. Ben-Gvir to stay away from the parade, on Thursday he toured the area where participants had gathered, to cries from the crowd of "Shame!" He also stopped by the nearby counter-demonstration.

The parade also came amid a backlash from liberal Israelis against the right-wing government led by Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Their main target has been a government plan for a judicial overhaul that critics say would weaken and politicize the Supreme Court, and has set off months of mass protests across the country.

The government's supporters insist that its judicial plan will restore the proper balance between the branches of government by reining in unelected judges. Opponents say that curbing the powers of the judiciary would damage Israel's democratic system and leave minorities, like the L.G.B.T.Q. community, more vulnerable.

Members of Israel's tech sector, women's organizations and army reservists who, together with the gay community, have played a prominent role in the anti-judicial overhaul protests, attended the Jerusalem parade in solidarity.

Mr. Netanyahu has pledged to protect gay rights and appointed Amir Ohana, a member of his conservative Likud party, as the first openly gay speaker of Israel's Parliament.

Mr. Ohana was publicly welcomed at a state ceremony this year, marking the 75th anniversary of Israel's establishment, together with his life partner, underlining the high profile of the gay community in Israel even as hostile rhetoric from officials grows.

"Maybe we won't see a law saying gay men have to wear a pink shirt in Israel," said Jonathan Valfer, chairman of the Jerusalem Open House for Pride and Tolerance and a parade organizer, of the potential dangers posed by the government's judicial proposals.

But in the end, he said in an interview, gay rights — such as same-sex surrogacy rights — have mostly been conferred by the Supreme Court rather than the lawmakers. "So, if you weaken the Supreme Court," he said, "Netanyahu's policies are not relevant anymore."

Reflecting the more conservative character of the holy city, the annual parade in Jerusalem is much smaller and quieter than the carnival-like one in Tel Aviv, which takes place a week later and attracts up to 250,000 people.

The Israeli L.G.B.T.Q. Union said that over a hundred Pride events were scheduled across Israel over the next month, calling that number "an unprecedented milestone."

"Our rights are being threatened by the government and we must demonstrate, protest and celebrate our identity," said Hila Peer, the chairwoman of the union.

Activists had raised fears of violence during the parade, citing a 2022 report that showed a spike in complaints about homophobic and transphobic verbal and physical assaults in Israel in the last two months of last year, a result, they said, of the outcome of the Nov. 1 election.

The Jerusalem pride parade has been marred by violence in the past. An ultra-Orthodox Jew, Yishai Schlissel, was convicted of stabbing to death a schoolgirl, Shira Banki, 16, during the 2015

Several activist groups against Netanyahu's judicial overhaul plan show up in solidarity.

parade. He carried out the attack soon after being released from prison after serving 10 years for stabbing participants in the parade a decade earlier.

Israeli television has reported on threats against the march circulating in WhatsApp groups associated with Lehava. On Thursday, only about 30 people showed up for the anti-gay counter-demonstration.

Ms. Peer described it as "absurd" that Mr. Ben-Gvir, Israel's national security minister, would be responsible for the parade's security. He and Bezalel Smotrich, the far-right finance minister, participated in a notorious "Beast Parade," a provocative anti-gay march with donkeys and goat in Jerusalem in 2006.

Both Mr. Smotrich and Mr. Ben-Gvir have since expressed regret for that event, but gay activists still view them as dangerous. Mr. Ben-Gvir, an attorney, represented a brother of Mr. Schlissel who was arrested in 2016 on suspicion of planning another attack against the Jerusalem pride parade. The brother denied any violent intentions and was not charged.

Mr. Ben-Gvir said on Wednesday that even if he disagrees with the parade, "It is my duty to make sure that not a single hair on the heads of those participating will be harmed on my watch."

"On the other hand," he added, "there has to be maximum ability to allow freedom of expression," including of those demonstrating against the pride parade. He said he did not want to see anybody with a religious or ultra-Orthodox appearance being automatically detained.

The Netanyahu government has not, so far, passed any laws impinging on L.G.B.T.Q. rights, despite a promise made to parties in the coalition to amend the current anti-discrimination law. The proposed change would allow businesses and service providers to refuse to provide a service contrary to their religious beliefs.

But many L.G.B.T.Q. people are concerned about the recent allocation of nearly $80 million in government funding over the next two years for a new authority to promote Jewish national identity, headed by Avi Maoz, a deputy minister in the prime minister's office who promotes policies that critics describe as homophobic, racist and misogynist. Mr. Maoz, leader of the far-right Noam party, says he will create a mechanism to help parents track the educational content in their children's schools — a move, critics say, that could be used to crack down on programs that promote the rights of minorities and women.

He told a small, religious publication shortly before the government was formed that he intended to work to cancel the annual gay pride parade in Jerusalem, which he described as "an obscene abomination."

Some gay activists and their supporters accuse Mr. Netanyahu of "pink washing" by appointing Mr. Ohana as the first gay Parliament speaker, positioning himself as a liberal while empowering the anti-gay far right. At the same time, some say he and Mr. Ohana have helped "normalize" the gay community.

Mr. Ohana, for his part, has accused the liberal camp of hypocrisy. In a Facebook post before the November election, he wrote that many gay leftists were sending him images from nearly 20 years ago of Mr. Ben-Gvir and Mr. Smotrich at the "Beast Parade," asking if these were going to be his future coalition partners.

Mr. Ohana noted that the last government, a broad coalition of anti-Netanyahu forces, included a small Islamist party, Raam, which is virulently opposed to gay rights.

Reflecting the layers of complexity in Israeli society, Mr. Ohana related a story of how warmly he, his partner and their son had recently been received by the rabbi and congregation of an Orthodox Yemenite synagogue they had visited in Jerusalem.

The rabbi, Mr. Ohana recounted, blessed their son in the traditional way, naming the two fathers in place of the more usual father and mother. "The congregation," Mr. Ohana wrote, "with a good-hearted smile on their faces, responded with a loud 'Amen!'"

Gabby Sobelman contributed reporting from Rehovot, Israel.

Jail for Opposition Leader Prompts Senegal Protests

By ELIAN PELTIER

LEO CORREA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHN WESSELS/A.F.P. — GETTY IMAGES

Demonstrators clashed with the police in Dakar, Senegal, on Thursday after the opposition leader Ousmane Sonko, right, was sentenced to two years in prison for a "corrupting youth" conviction.

DAKAR, Senegal — A court in Senegal sentenced the country's leading opposition figure to two years in prison on Thursday after finding him guilty of "corrupting youth," prompting scores of protesters to take to the streets, and clash with security forces, throughout the country.

The ruling, which for now bars him from running in future elections, throws the West African nation's political future into uncertainty less than a year before its next presidential contest.

The opposition leader, Ousmane Sonko, was accused of raping a massage parlor's employee in Dakar, the capital, and issuing death threats against her. The court acquitted him of those charges, which he had denied and denounced as an attempt by Senegal's president, Macky Sall, to sideline him.

But the conviction in absentia of "corrupting youth" — a charge relating to an accusation that Mr. Sonko had a sexual relationship with the massage parlor worker, who was under 21 at the time — renders him ineligible to run in the election.

Mr. Sonko cannot appeal because he did not appear in court for the hearings or the verdict, citing threats to his safety. His fate remained unclear as of Thursday, but Ismaïla Madior Fall, Senegal's justice minister, said he could be arrested at any time.

One of Mr. Sonko's lawyers, Bamba Cissé, said in a phone interview that Mr. Sonko would not surrender "because we're against a judiciary system perverted by political leaders." He continued: "For two years, Senegal has been told that Mr. Sonko was involved in a rape affair. Today, we have the proof that it was a plot."

Clashes erupted between protesters and security forces in Senegal's largest cities. In Dakar, fires broke out in multiple neighborhoods and at the main university, where young demonstrators erected barricades and threw stones at the police, who responded with tear gas. In Rufisque, near the capital, a train station was burned down. Protests also broke out on the main highway leading to the capital; in Mbour, a major hub on Senegal's coast; in Ziguinchor, the city where Mr. Sonko is the current mayor; and in other locations.

Senegal, a country of 17 million, has long been hailed as a model of political pluralism in West Africa, a region known for coups and aging leaders clinging to power. Elections have been mostly peaceful since the country became independent from France in 1960. The United States and European countries, as well as China, hold Senegal as one of their most reliable partners in West Africa. Mr. Sall was the chairman of the African Union last year, at a time of increased geopolitical competition on the continent.

Yet the battle around the political future of Mr. Sonko, 48, whose fiery rhetoric has made him popular among young Senegalese, has become the president's biggest challenge. In the coming months, it could lead to the most serious test faced by Senegalese democracy in more than a decade, analysts say.

"Senegal finds itself in a thick fog, with lots of uncertainties," and founder of the AfrikaJom Center, a Dakar-based research organization. "It has turned into a police state and, increasingly, an authoritarian one."

There is no public proof that Mr. Sonko's case has been politically motivated, but some academics, human rights observers and most opponents of Mr. Sall have raised questions about the lack of concrete evidence and the harsh treatment of Mr. Sonko throughout the proceedings. They have also in recent years warned of a steady erosion of democratic norms as several political opponents have been jailed and journalists arrested.

In recent months, police officers have been posted at traffic circles in Dakar; temporary bans on motorcycles to prevent quick gatherings of protesters have become a fixture in the capital; and demonstrators have faced a heavy-handed response from security forces, with clashes at times turning deadly. At least one person died during clashes in southern Senegal on Thursday. Protesters have also targeted the police, attacked gas stations and, Sall's chief of staff.

Mr. Fall, the justice minister, told journalists after the verdict on Thursday that the judiciary system had remained independent throughout the proceedings. He justified the security forces' heavy-handed response by the fact that Mr. Sonko had called for an insurrection.

Riot police officers were positioned near Mr. Sonko's house in Dakar on Thursday, blocking access. Adama Ndiaye, a supporter of Mr. Sonko's who unsuccessfully tried to approach his residence, said it was a bleak day for Senegal.

"The 'corrupting youth' charge comes out of nowhere; it's pure injustice," said Mr. Ndiaye, a 35-year-old car salesman who said he was on his way to a Dakar neighborhood where protests were taking place.

But opponents of Mr. Sall have accused his government of repeatedly sidelining key opposition leaders, including Mr. Sonko, who was barred by Senegal's constitutional council from running in last year's parliamentary elections. Dozens of members of his party have been jailed or placed under and former Dakar mayors were also prohibited from running in the 2019 presidential election because of convictions for embezzlement.

At a hearing last month, Mr. Sonko's accuser said he had assaulted her five times at a massage parlor between late 2020 and February 2021, and had sent her death threats. The New York Times does not routinely name accusers in rape cases, but Mr. Sonko's accuser, Adji Sarr, has been publicly identified and has given interviews. She has been under police protection since 2021.

Gender-based violence has been decreasing in Senegal in recent years; it remains widespread, though rarely talked about. About 30 percent of women ages 15 to 49 have experienced physical or sexual violence, according to a demographic and health survey released in 2017, with the highest rate, 34 percent, among those ages 25 to 29. More than two-thirds never spoke about it or sought help.

Even as Ms. Sarr detailed last week the assaults she said she had faced, Senegalese newspapers

Many Senegalese believe the trial was politically motivated.

nuendos, comparing her testimony to pornography.

Marième Cissé, an expert on gender issues, said Senegalese society still blamed victims of sexual violence. The Sonko trial, she added, gave many Senegalese the impression that a crime as serious as rape had been used for political purposes.

"That instrumentalization has minimized the seriousness of the accusation," said Ms. Cissé, a researcher with the Dakar-based Wathi research organization. "It could discourage women from talking about the abuse they may face."

Many Senegalese say they simply do not believe the accuser.

Moussa Sané, a 46-year-old businessman who attended the court session on Thursday, said that he was not a Sonko supporter but that the verdict showed the trial's political motive. "The government is trying its best to prevent Sonko from running in the next election," he said.

Until Thursday, Mr. Sonko had been widely regarded as Mr. Sall's strongest challenger in the election, although Mr. Sall has not said whether he will run.

Most legal experts say the Senegalese Constitution prevents Mr. Sall from running: It limits presidents to two five-year terms, and Mr. Sall is set to complete his second in February. But he argues that a constitutional reform adopted in 2016 reset the clock to zero and gives him the right to seek another term.

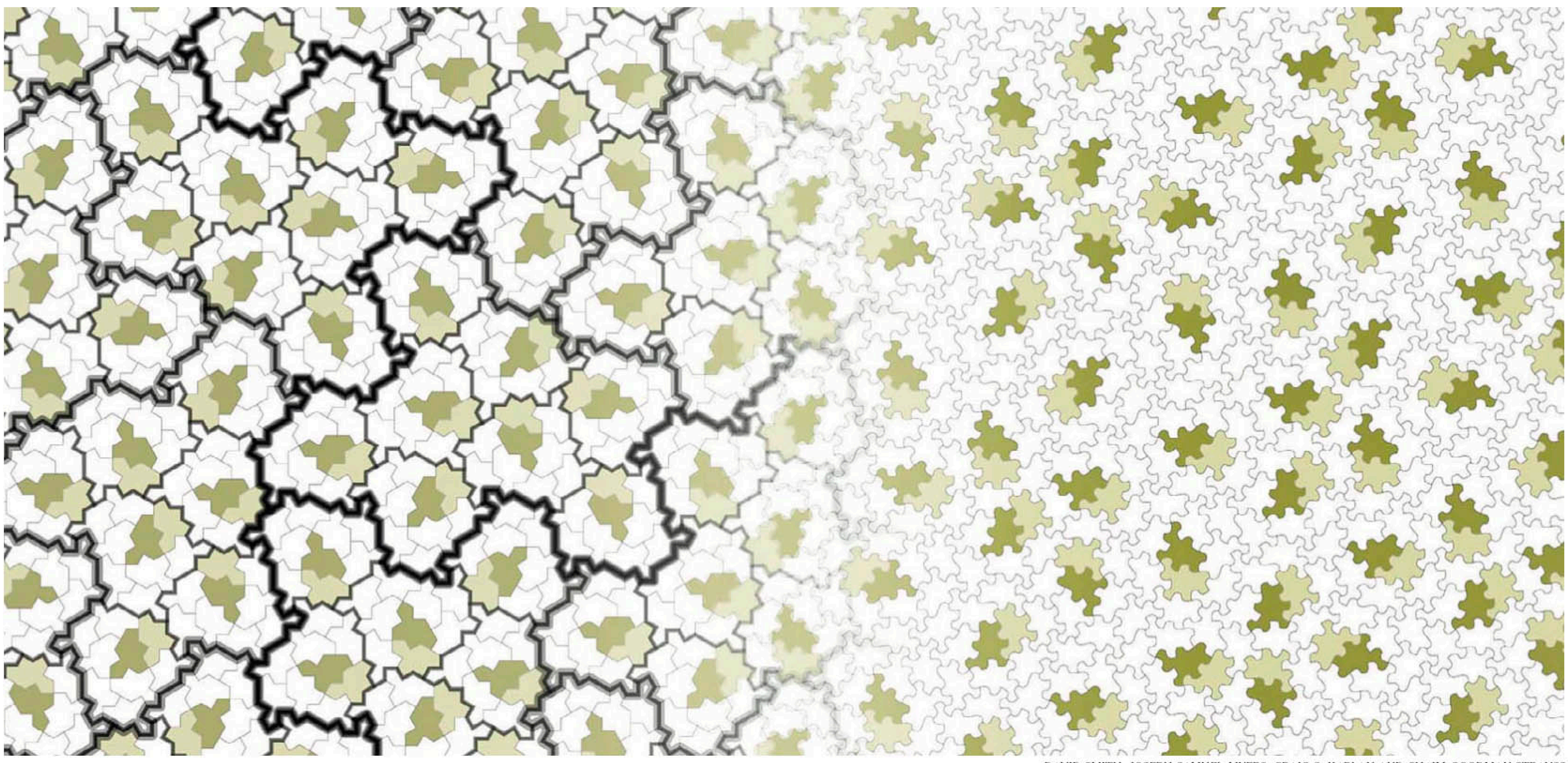
"With Sonko convicted, Macky Sall has made him a political martyr," said Mr. Tine, the rights expert. "And with this third-term issue, he has created another prob-

Mady Camara contributed report-

'Who would believe that a little polygon could kick up such a fuss?'
MARJORIE SENECHAL, a mathematician at Smith College.

With Improved 'Einstein,' Puzzlers Settle a Decades-Old Math Problem

By SIOBHAN ROBERTS



DAVID SMITH, JOSEPH SAMUEL MYERS, CRAIG S. KAPLAN AND CHAIM GOODMAN-STRAUSS

Researchers have unequivocally discovered an "einstein" — a single shape that tiles a plane, or an infinite two-dimensional flat surface, in a nonrepeating pattern.

In March, a team of mathematical tilers announced their solution to a storied problem: They had discovered an elusive "einstein" — a single shape that tiles a plane, or an infinite two-dimensional flat surface, but only in a nonrepeating pattern. "I've always wanted to make a discovery," David Smith, the shape hobbyist whose original find spurred the research, said at the time.

Mr. Smith and his collaborators named their einstein "the hat." (The term "einstein" comes from the German "ein stein," or "one stone" — more loosely, "one tile" or "one shape.") It has since been fodder for Jimmy Kimmel, a shower curtain, a quilt, a soccer ball and cookie cutters, among other doodads. Hatfest is happening at the University of Oxford in July.

"Who would believe that a little polygon could kick up such a fuss?" said Marjorie Senechal, a mathematician at Smith College who is on the roster of speakers for the event.

The researchers might have been satisfied with the discovery and the hullabaloo, and left well enough alone. But Mr. Smith, of Bridlington in East Yorkshire, England, who is known as an "imaginative tinkerer," could not stop tinkering. Now, two months later, the team has one-upped itself with a new and improved einstein. (Papers for both results are not yet peer reviewed.)

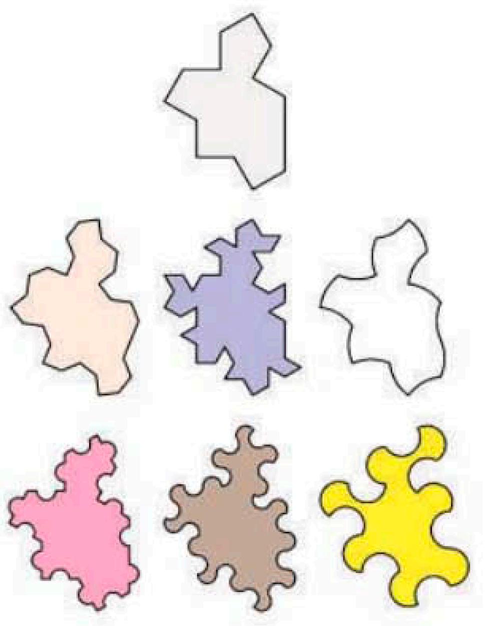
This tiling pursuit began in the 1960s, when the mathematician Hao Wang conjectured that it would be impossible to find a set of shapes that could tile a plane only aperiodically. His student Robert Berger, now a retired electrical engineer in Lexington, Mass., proceeded to find a set of 20,426 tiles that did so, followed by a set of 104. By the 1970s, Sir Roger Penrose, a mathematical physicist at Oxford, had brought it down to two.

And then came the monotile hat. But there was a quibble.

Dr. Berger (among others, including the researchers of the recent papers) noted that the hat tiling uses reflections — it includes both the hat-shaped tile and its mirror image. "If you want to be picky about it, you can say, well, that's not really a one-tile set, that's a two-tile set, where the other tile happens to be a reflection of the first," Dr. Berger said.

'Spectre' Tiles

These monotiles do not use reflections.



DAVID SMITH

"To some extent, this question is about tiles as physical objects rather than mathematical abstractions," the authors wrote in the new paper. "A hat cut from paper or plastic can easily be turned over in three dimensions to obtain its reflection, but a glazed ceramic tile cannot."

The new monotile discovery does not use reflections. And the researchers did not have to look far to find it — it is "a close relative of the hat," they noted.

"I wasn't surprised that such a tile existed," said the co-author Joseph Myers, a software developer in Cambridge, England. "That one existed so closely related to the hat was surprising."

Originally, the team discovered that the hat was part of a morphing continuum — an uncountable infinity of shapes, obtained by increasing and decreasing the edges of the hat — that produce aperiodic tilings using reflections.

But there was an exception, a "rogue member of the continuum," said Craig Kaplan, a co-author and a computer scientist at the University of Waterloo. This shape, technically known as Tile (1,1), can be regarded as an equilateral version of the hat and as such is not an aperiodic monotile. (It generates a simple periodic tiling.) "It's kind of ridiculous and amazing that that shape happens to have a hidden superpower," Dr. Kaplan said — a superpower that unlocked the new discovery.

Inspired by explorations by Yoshiaki Araki, president of the Japan Tessellation Design Association in Tokyo, Mr. Smith began tinkering with Tile (1,1) shortly after the first discovery was posted online in March. "I machine-cut shapes from card, to see what might happen if I were to use only unreflected tiles," he said in an email. Reflected tiles were forbidden "by fiat," as the authors put it.

Mr. Smith said, "It wasn't long before I produced a reasonably large patch" — fitting tiles together like a jigsaw puzzle, with no overlaps or gaps. He knew he was on to something.

Investigating further — with a combination of traditional mathematical reasoning and drawing, plus computational handiwork by Dr. Kaplan and Dr. Myers — the team proved that this tiling was indeed aperiodic.

"We call this a 'weakly chiral aperiodic monotile,'" Dr. Kaplan explained on social media. "It's aperiodic in a reflection-free universe, but tiles periodically if you're allowed to use reflections."

The adjective "chiral" means "handedness," from the Greek "kheir," for "hand." They called the new aperiodic tiling "chiral" because it is composed exclusively of either left- or right-handed tiles. "You can't mix the two," said Chaim Goodman-Strauss, a co-author and outreach mathematician at the National Museum of Mathematics in New York.

The team then went one better: They produced a family of strong or "strictly chiral aperiodic monotiles" through a simple modification of the T(1,1) tile: They replaced the straight edges with curves.

Named "Spectres," these monotiles, owing to their curvy contours, only allow nonperiodic tilings, and without reflections. "A left-handed Spectre cannot interlock with its right-handed mirror image," said Dr. Kaplan.

"Now there is no quibbling about whether the aperiodic tile set has one or two tiles," Dr. Berger said in an email. "It's satisfying to see a glazed ceramic einstein."

Doris Schattschneider, a mathematician at Moravian University, said, "This is more what I would have expected of an aperiodic monotile." On a tiling listserv, she had just seen a playful "Escherization" (after the Dutch artist M.C. Escher) of the Spectre tile by Dr. Araki, who called it a "twin-head pig."

"It's not simple like the hat," Dr. Schattschneider said. "This is a really strange tile. It looks like a mistake of nature."

U.K. Government Won't Hand Over Copies Of Johnson's Covid-Era Texts to Committee

By MARK LANDLER

PETER NICHOLLS/REUTERS

Boris Johnson offered to give his messages to the inquiry panel.

LONDON — The British government refused on Thursday to hand over former Prime Minister Boris Johnson's Covid-era text messages to a committee investigating the handling of the pandemic, setting off a legal battle that could become a political headache for the current prime minister, Rishi Sunak.

The government's Cabinet Office faced a deadline of 4 p.m. to turn over unredacted text messages, diaries and notebooks belonging to Mr. Johnson. But it dug in its heels, arguing that to do so would compromise private exchanges between senior officials and establish a worrisome precedent for future investigations.

Instead, the Cabinet Office asked a court to rule on whether it should be compelled to turn over all the communications, including material it said would be "unambiguously irrelevant" to an investigation of Britain's Covid response.

"Individuals, junior officials, current and former ministers, and departments should not be required to provide material that is irrelevant to the inquiry's work," the government said in a letter to the Covid-19 Inquiry.

"It represents an unwarranted intrusion into other aspects of the work of government," the letter said. "It also represents an intrusion into their legitimate expectations of privacy and protection of their personal information."

The chairwoman of the inquiry, Baroness Heather Hallett, contends that it is the job of the committee, not the government, to determine what material is relevant to its investigation. She originally set a deadline of May 30 before agreeing to postpone it by two days in hopes that the Cabinet Office would relent.

Historically, public inquiries in Britain have had broad scope to demand internal government communications. But this is the first inquiry in the era of WhatsApp, the texting app that British officials have avidly embraced for business and personal exchanges, all of which are forever preserved in cyberspace.

The government, analysts said, is worried that the disclosure of WhatsApp messages could embarrass current senior ministers, including Mr. Sunak. He served as Mr. Johnson during the pandemic, arguing forcefully in internal debates against prolonged lockdowns.

To some extent, the standoff is a proxy for deeper tensions between Mr. Sunak and Mr. Johnson. On Wednesday, Mr. Johnson said he had turned over a sheaf of text messages and other material to the Cabinet Office, and he challenged it to hand over the package, unredacted, to the inquiry.

Disclosing private exchanges could set a worrisome precedent.

On Thursday evening, he offered to hand over his WhatsApp messages to the inquiry directly, if asked.

The Cabinet Office said its lawyers worked through the night to vet the exchanges for national security concerns and to weed out "unambiguously irrelevant" material. It said it would forward material it deemed relevant. The inquiry has also demanded text messages from a former senior aide to Mr. Johnson, Henry Cook.

The government's response puts Mr. Sunak in an awkward spot, with critics already suggesting that it is engaged in a cover-up. The disclosure of embarrassing details could hurt his reputation and damage his Conservative Party before a general election that must be held by January 2025.

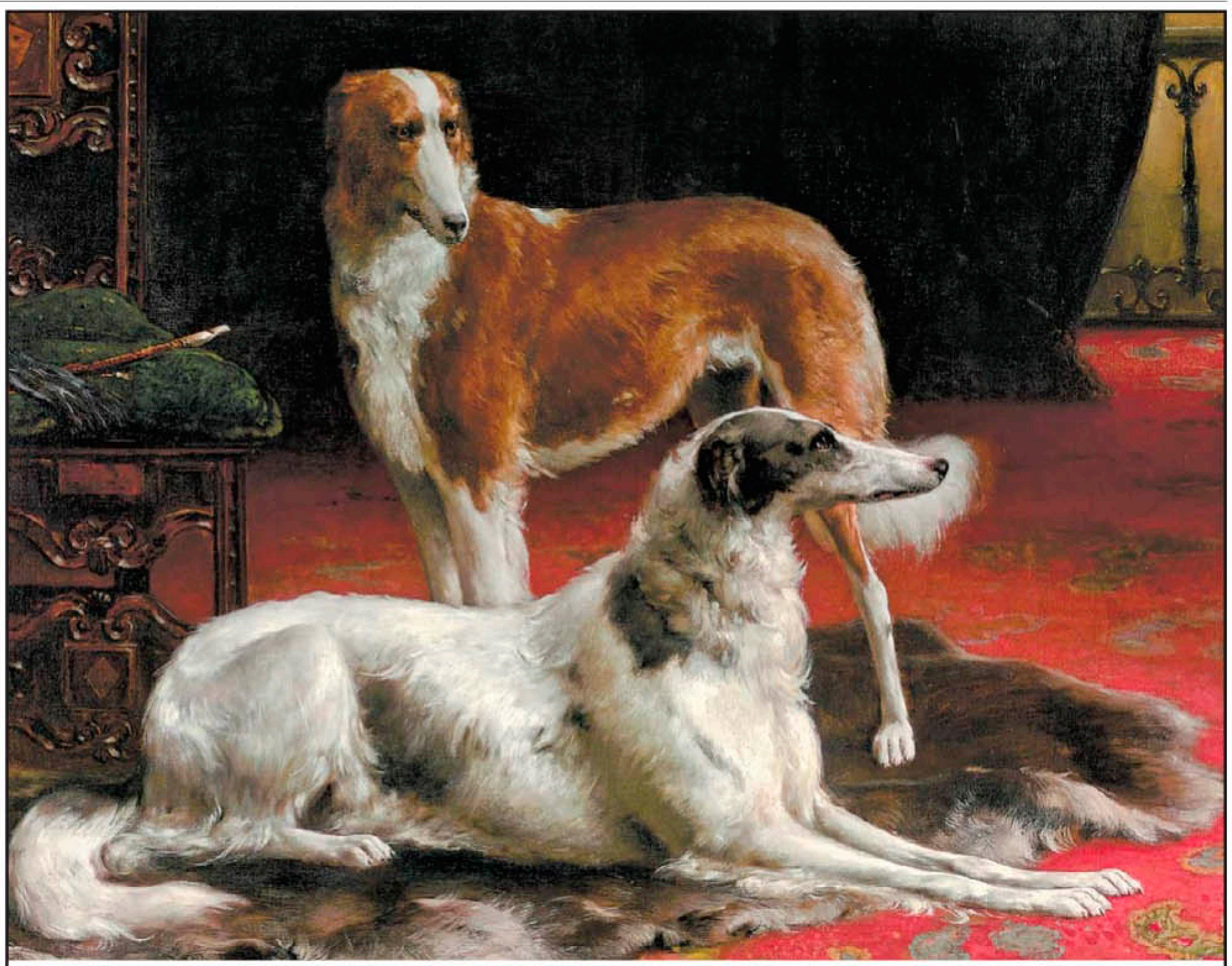
For Mr. Johnson, who is no longer unfiltered comments about Covid and other matters are well documented, the political risks are lower. He has had icy relations with Mr. Sunak since last July, when Mr. Sunak's resignation from his cabinet set in motion a chain of events that brought down Mr. Johnson.

The former prime minister expressed fury last week when the Cabinet Office referred new claims to the police that Mr. Johnson had violated lockdown regulations by inviting friends to his country residence, Chequers.

Last year, Mr. Johnson and Mr. Sunak were both fined by the police for attending social gatherings at 10 Downing Street in 2020 and 2021 that violated social distancing regulations. The scandal over lockdown parties was one of the elements that contributed to Mr. Johnson's fall from power.

The perils of WhatsApp were vividly illustrated in February when more than 100,000 text messages belonging to a former health secretary, Matt Hancock, were handed to The Daily Telegraph by Isabel Oakeshott, a journalist who collaborated with Mr. Hancock on a book about his experience during the pandemic.

Those exchanges captured Mr. Hancock and his fellow ministers discussing the pandemic in often flippant terms, even at a time when it was killing hundreds of people every day. In one text exchange, Mr. Hancock mocked "Eat Out to Help Out," a program designed to lure people back to restaurants, which was sponsored by Mr. Sunak. He referred to it as "eat out to help the virus get



LOYAL COMPANIONS
OTTO EERELMAN

Grand canvas. Majestic animals. Dutch master.

This monumental original painting by Dutch artist Otto Eerelman features two impeccably executed Borzois awaiting their next hunt. Eerelman was one of Europe's most important animal portraitists and was highly sought-after by a wealthy clientele for his ability to capture a dog's physical characteristics along with their unique personality, as seen in this quintessential example. Other Eerelman works can be found in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Signed "Otto. Eerelman" (lower left). Circa 1880. Canvas: 52 1/2"h x 68 1/4"w. Frame: 69 3/4"h x 85 5/8"w. #31-3394

Scan to read more about this painting

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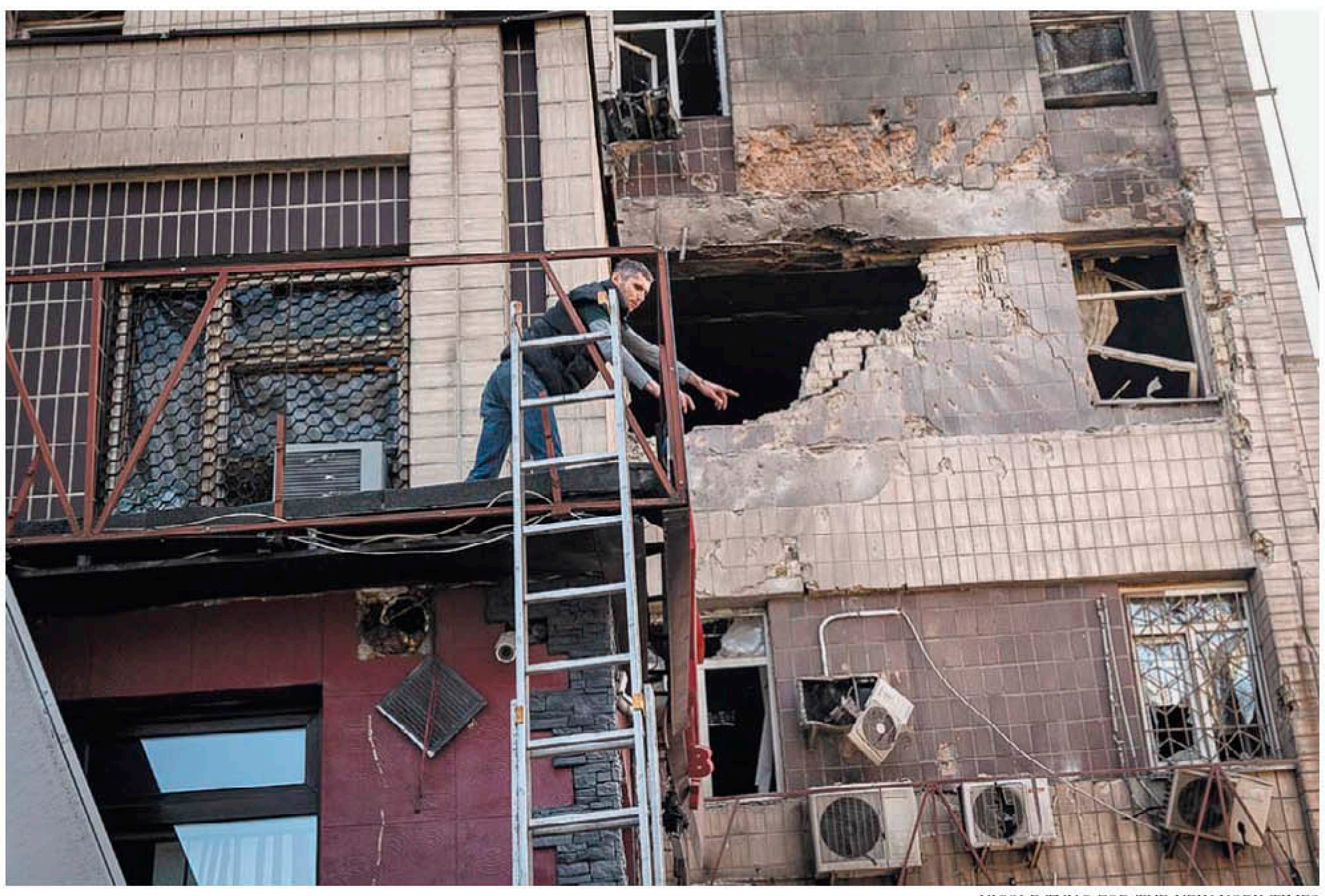
War in Ukraine

NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Holding a Stinger missile, Oleg, 38, a Ukrainian serviceman, is part of a two-man team operating a mobile air defense unit in Kyiv, Ukraine. At right, cleaning debris in Kyiv after a drone attack on Sunday.

Near Kyiv, a Patchwork Air Defense Network With 'No Days Off'

From Page A1

at Kyiv; Ukrainian officials said they were all shot down but that falling fragments killed three people, including a child, and injured more than a dozen others.

Yet overall, very little has penetrated the complex and increasingly sophisticated air defense network around Ukraine's capital, saving scores of lives.

"We have no days off," said Riabyi, the call sign of the 26-year-old "shooter" who is part of a two-person antiaircraft missile crew responsible for protecting just one patch of sky just outside Kyiv.

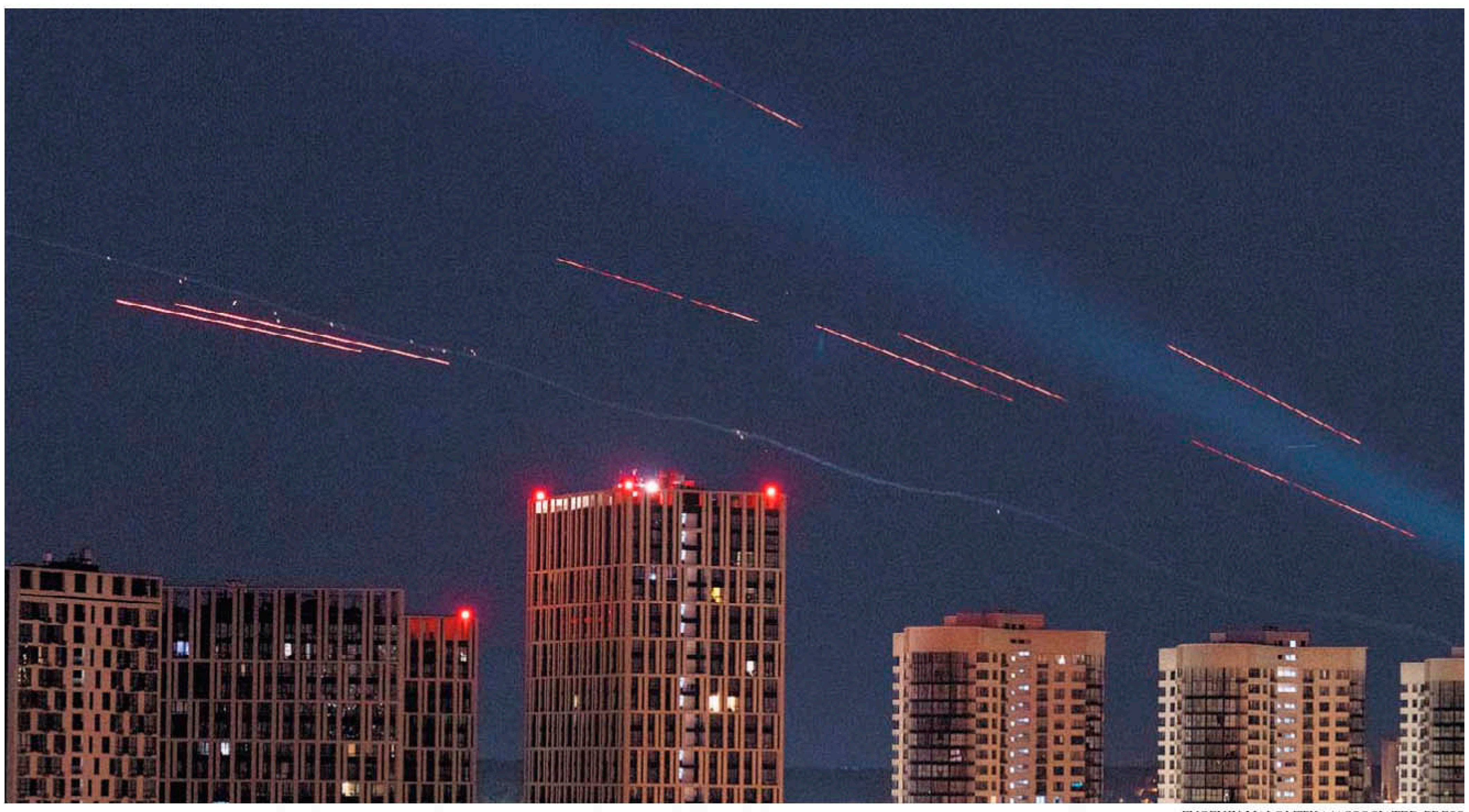
Ukraine's air defenses are a stitched-together patchwork of different weapons, many of them newly supplied by the West, protecting millions of civilians in Kyiv and other cities, and guarding critical infrastructure that includes four working nuclear power plants. Tom Karako, the director of the Missile Defense Project at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies, called it "a sort of a dog's breakfast" of systems.

There are hundreds of people like Riabyi, equipped with American-made surface-to-air Stinger missiles and other portable weapons. Many more are operating more complex launchers that have arrived recently, like the Patriot (American), NASAMS (Norwegian-American) and SAMP/T (French-Italian). Ukraine also uses German-made Gepard antiaircraft guns, and a mix of Soviet-era air defenses.

Andriy Yusov, a spokesman for Ukraine's military intelligence agency, said the recent air raids aimed at the capital were a "massive and unprecedented" assault intended to exhaust air defense systems, strike a powerful symbolic blow at the heart of the ancient capital and sow terror.

President Volodymyr Zelensky once again thanked "the defenders of the sky" in his address to the nation on Tuesday night. The battle in the skies, he made clear, is as important as the bloody struggle being waged by soldiers on land.

Air defense teams have man-



EVGENIY MALOLETKA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Ukrainian air defenses firing to stop Russian drones in Kyiv. Even when Ukraine does blast drones, falling debris can bring death.

aged to shoot down roughly 90 percent of the incoming missiles and drones recently and, remarkably, 100 percent of the ballistic missiles aimed at Kyiv, according to the Ukrainian Air Force. Those statistics could not be independently verified.

Air defense assets will also be critical in Ukraine's looming counteroffensive — keeping newly acquired weapons safe as they stage for battle.

Riabyi and his partner, Oleg, 38, are responsible for protecting a sector of the sky measuring around 10 square kilometers outside Kyiv. When the alarm sounds, he said, they race from a base in the Kyiv area to one of a handful of secret firing positions outside the city, pull the tarp off a truck-mounted Stinger system and prepare.

"If an air target is coming close to our sector, our commander gives us command No. 1: find and annihilate," he said, demonstrating the procedure recently at a secret location outside Kyiv. After the team fires, their position is exposed and they have minutes to move or risk being targeted.

On the side of the team's truck, Ukrainian tridents mark their successes. The first two tridents represent Russian fighter jets they said they shot down during the first days of the war. They said they had since shot down six Orlan reconnaissance drones, two Russian attack helicopters, and two Iranian-made Shahed drones.

Continuing success in the skies, however, is by no means assured.

Leaked Pentagon documents made public in April expressed deep concern that Russia could achieve air superiority as Ukraine runs out of antiaircraft missiles for Soviet-designed S-300 and Buk systems that still make up the backbone of Ukraine's air defenses.

Since that analysis was leaked, Ukraine's Western allies have stepped up delivery of new systems and ammunition. The arrival of two Patriot batteries in late April gave Ukraine its first system designed to shoot down ballistic missiles.

Air defense systems rely on a variety of methods to take down incoming missiles. For a cruise missile, which can travel at around 500 miles per hour, an interceptor can target its heat signature or track a laser projected onto the missile by the Ukrainian defender, among other methods.

Working around the clock to combat unrelenting assaults.

Ballistic missiles are capable of traveling much faster. Ukrainians target them with interceptor missiles that are also capable of traveling at high speed, and that have their own guidance and radar to assist in tracking at such speeds. The only proven defense against the powerful Russian Iskander missiles is the American Patriot air defense system, which can be fired within nine seconds of a target being identified.

Still, Ukraine must make difficult decisions about how to deploy limited resources.

Mr. Karako of the Missile Defense Project said the recent attacks on Kyiv have shown "how stressing and challenging a concerted air assault can be," underscoring the need for Ukraine to keep building its defenses as the Russians try to wear them down.

While Ukrainian and Western officials have noted that Russia is most likely running low on precision missiles, and relying more on less accurate missiles and drones, Moscow has shown that it still has the capacity to stage attacks at a regular tempo.

Since Russia launched its full-scale invasion 15 months ago, it has fired over 5,000 missiles and attack drones at targets across Ukraine, according to a recent study by the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

But like Russia's ground offensives, the air assaults have failed to produce the strategic military effects Moscow desired, according to the study, and Ukrainian air defenses have "greatly shaped the course of the war, limiting Russian striking power."

Mr. Yusov, the representative of Ukrainian military intelligence, said that the Russians changed tactics after bombardment of civilian infrastructure and cities over the winter and early spring failed to cripple Ukraine's ability to function.

Moscow is now targeting more military installations to undermine Ukraine's counteroffensive, he said, while also setting its sights on Kyiv because it remains "an unconquered target for the aggressor."

Peter Mitchell, writing for the Modern War Institute at West Point, asserted that the barrages are designed to fill the air with more incoming targets than the defenses can handle, "using a combination of land-, sea-, or air-launched missile platforms."

For Kyiv residents, the nearly nightly blitzes have been exhausting and terrifying. The first alarm usually sounds after midnight and the assaults last for hours.

"I'm checking the information trying to understand what is flying and from where," said Natalia Ulianytska, 32, a human-rights activist who lives in Kyiv.

She knows when the Russian drones and missiles arrive by the thunderous explosions in the sky. Even when air defense teams successfully shoot down a target, there is danger as fiery wreckage rains down on the streets below.

Several people have been killed and injured by falling debris in Kyiv in the past month, and scores of businesses and apartment buildings have been damaged.

Riabyi, the gunner, said he has had to learn on the job. He was still going through training at a base in Ukraine's west when Russia invaded.

His wife, pregnant with their first child, fled their home north of Kyiv before Russian soldiers could occupy the village; Riabyi was dispatched to Kyiv.

His daughter was born in May, but he did not see her for the first time until December. They spent a few days together and then he had to return to his post to help ensure she could sleep safely.

Anna Lukinova contributed reporting.

Western Leaders, Meeting in Norway and Moldova, Debate Future Ukraine Ties to NATO

By MICHAEL CROWLEY

OSLO — Debates over whether and how to guarantee the long-term security of Ukraine and possibly admit it to the NATO alliance took center stage on Thursday in two gatherings of dozens of leaders from Europe and North America.

Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken and his NATO counterparts took on the status of Ukraine at a meeting in Oslo, as well as Sweden's application to join the 31-member alliance, following months of obstruction by Turkey, an alliance member. They discussed whether the standoff over Sweden could be resolved before a summit of NATO leaders in Vilnius, Lithuania, scheduled for July 11 and 12.

At the same time, European leaders from countries both inside and outside the alliance met in Moldova, including President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine, who said there that "Ukraine is ready to join NATO" and was awaiting the alliance's approval.

Though doubts persist about Ukraine's membership prospects, the two meetings demonstrated how Russia's invasion more than 15 months ago has forged closer ties among Western nations, expanding and strengthening NATO — precisely what the Kremlin wanted to prevent.

The world is watching for an expected Ukrainian counteroffensive that officials believe could reframe broader debates about the war. American and Ukrainian officials for new talk of cease-fires and peace deals after the counteroffensive. Unless Ukraine makes unexpectedly large gains, a cease-fire could play to Moscow's advantage, given that Russia is still likely to occupy large swaths of Ukraine.

As the war threatens to settle into a long-term stalemate, Western countries that have spent billions arming Ukraine are turning their focus to longer-term means

Russia's invasion has strengthened and expanded an alliance.

of providing support, and to shaping its relationship with NATO. Mr. Blinken and other foreign ministers in Oslo discussed whether the alliance might provide long-term security guarantees to Ukraine that would be short of full NATO membership, but perhaps serve as a pathway to that outcome.

Ukrainian membership has been a stated goal of NATO since 2008, a stance that has infuriated President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, and Ukraine applied in September to join the alliance. But many officials and analysts see that as a distant prospect, given Russia's partial occupation of the country, and military and political reforms Ukraine would have to

Even so, Prime Minister Rishi Sunak of Britain, at the meeting in Moldova, declared in a Thursday interview with CNBC that "Ukraine's rightful place is in NATO."

Jens Stoltenberg, the NATO secretary general, also sounded bullish on the membership question, telling reporters before the Oslo meeting that it would include "how to address Ukraine's membership aspirations," and adding that "all allies agree that Ukraine will become a member" of NATO "when the time is right."

Mr. Blinken took a more cautious tone, speaking at a news conference after the NATO meeting and a sit-down with Mr. Stoltenberg. He did not explicitly mention Ukraine's potential membership, and he declined to address the prospects for specific security guarantees.

His conversations, Mr. Blinken said, were focused on "strengthening the political relationship between Ukraine and NATO," and shoring up military ties. He added that he expected next month's meeting of heads of government in Vilnius to produce "a very strong package of support on both the political side and the practical side."

Anders Fogh Rasmussen, Mr. Stoltenberg's predecessor as NATO chief, said on Thursday that NATO leaders must "define clear plans for Ukraine's accession to the alliance" and that until that happens, "back binding, open-ended and scalable security guarantees so Ukraine can defend it-

POOL PHOTO BY LISE ASERUD

In Oslo on Thursday, Secretary of State Antony J. Blinken, second from right, discussed Ukraine with other NATO diplomats.

Commenting by email, Mr. Rasmussen called for a binding and open commitment from several nations to provide weapons, military training, intelligence and sustained investment in Ukraine's defense industry. He added that such guarantees should not serve as a substitute for Ukraine's eventual NATO membership.

The meeting in Bulboaca, Moldova, was only the second gathering of the European Political Community, a forum for airing political, economic and security concerns created last year in response to Russia's full-scale invasion of Ukraine. Heads of state and government of 47 European countries were invited, but Russia and its close ally Belarus were not.

could be read as a rebuke to the Kremlin, as Mr. Putin seeks to reassert Moscow's former dominance over its neighbors. Russia has sought to destabilize Moldova, a former Soviet republic nestled between Ukraine and Romania, including by supporting and stationing troops in a breakaway region.

Last year, the European Union formally made Ukraine and Moldova candidates for membership, a move that Russia opposes but that was accelerated by the war.

Mr. Blinken's next stop after Norway was Helsinki, where he was expected to deliver a speech on Friday on the state of the war and to celebrate Finland's entry into NATO.

sion of Ukraine, both Sweden and Finland abandoned decades-long policies of neutrality and sought membership in the alliance. Finland, which shares a long border with Russia, became NATO's 31st member state in April, in a strategic defeat for Mr. Putin, who has been determined to block the alliance's expansion.

But President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey has called Sweden too welcoming of Kurdish nationalists and others he calls terrorists, and has so far refused to accept its membership bid, which must be approved by unanimous consent.

Hungary, an alliance member that has maintained good relations with Russia, has also yet to give Sweden its approval.

U.S. officials are hopeful that Mr. Erdogan will drop his opposition to Sweden's bid now that he has won another presidential term, after an election campaign in which he cast himself as a guardian against Kurdish terrorism.

A shift by Turkey and Hungary to allow Sweden into the alliance ahead of the Vilnius summit next month would be a boon to Western officials hoping to project unity at the gathering.

But Mr. Erdogan may be seeking U.S. approval to purchase F-16 fighter jets and upgrade existing ones in Turkey's fleet as a price for admitting Sweden, analysts say.

Speaking in Sweden on Tuesday, Mr. Blinken urged the U.S. Congress to approve an administration request to sell Turkey the

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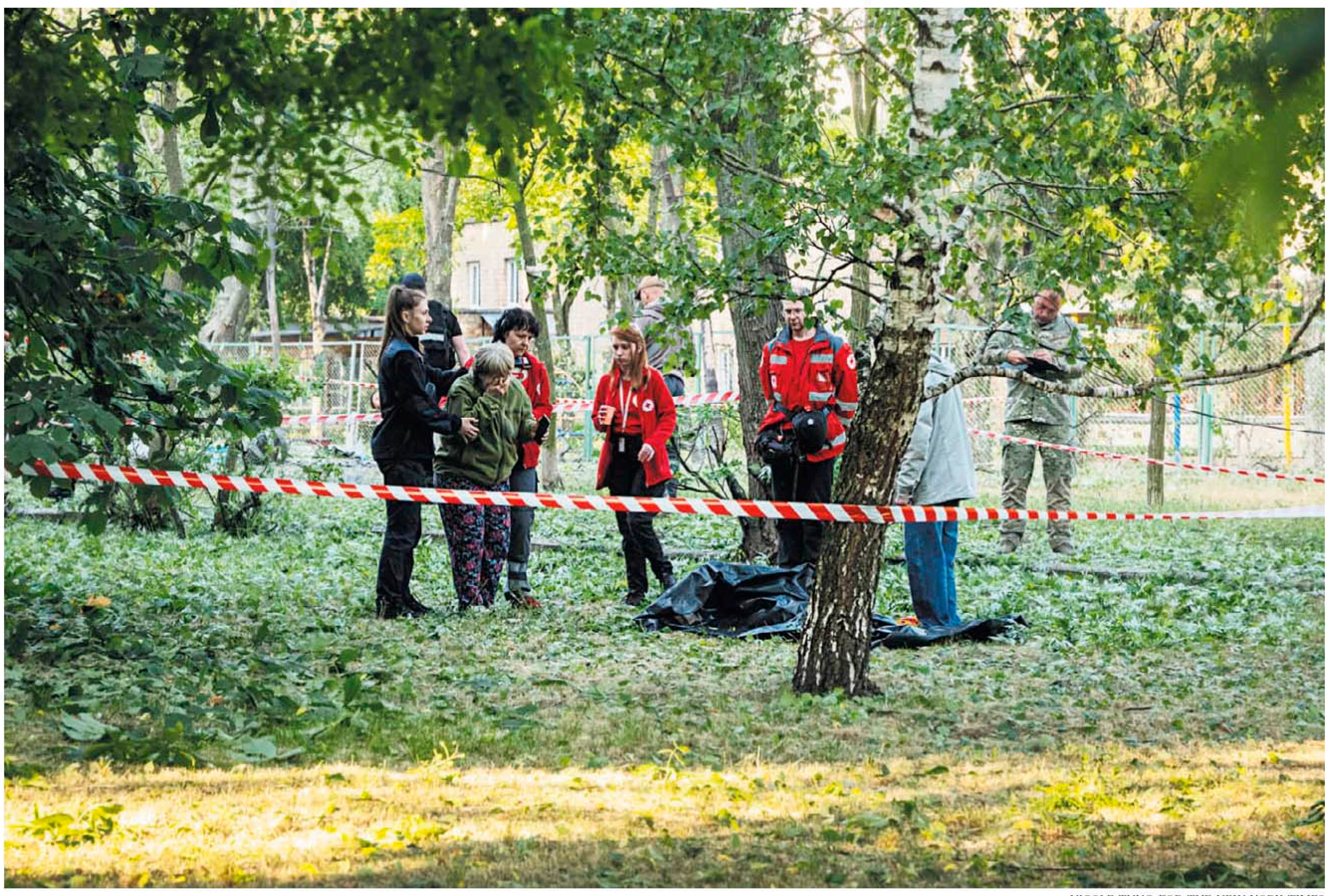
War in Ukraine

Russian Missiles Kill 3 in Kyiv, Including Mother and 9-Year-Old Girl

By MARC SANTORA and ANATOLY KURMANAEV



NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The authorities described the three women killed as the latest casualties of Russia's punishing and relentless campaign on civilians.

KYIV, Ukraine — Listening to the wail of air-raid sirens, a mother and her 9-year-old daughter raced through the Ukrainian capital's early morning darkness on Thursday to a clinic, where a bomb shelter promised escape from another Russian missile barrage.

But the clinic was locked, the authorities said. After explosions roared, the woman and her daughter were found dead among green trees and broken glass, just outside the door. So was another woman.

"People were knocking, knocking for a very long time," the husband of the third victim, who gave his name as Yaroslav, told Ukraine's public broadcaster. "There were women and children and nobody opened it."

The authorities, who announced an investigation into why the shelter was inaccessible, did not name those who died. They described the girl, her mother, 34, and the other woman, 33, as the latest casualties of Russia's punishing and relentless campaign on civilians.

The increased pace of Russian missile volleys — there were 17 aerial attacks in May — came as Ukraine was readying a long-anticipated counteroffensive to retake occupied land. At the same time, Russians in border regions, especially Belgorod, have described the chaotic evacuations of children, older people and other residents, along with heavy shelling by Ukraine.

The day's attacks coincided with International Children's Day, a reminder of the catastrophic toll that Russia's invasion has inflicted on children and families.

Hours before the sirens sounded in Kyiv on Thursday, President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine had likened the experience of Ukrainian children to that of Anne Frank, the Jewish girl who documented her family's life in hiding during World War II. At a conference focusing on children on Wednesday, he read from the diary of Yehor, an 8-year-old boy from Mariupol, the city besieged, devastated and captured by Russia last year.

"War. I slept well, woke up and smiled," he read. "My sister has a head wound. My mom has flesh torn out of her arm and a wound on her leg."

He continued, "My grandmother, Galya, two dogs and my favorite city of Mariupol died."

At least 535 children have been killed and 1,000 others injured in Ukraine since Russia invaded last year, the United Nations said on Thursday, though many believe the toll is higher. Most of those casualties, the United Nations said, were caused by explosive weapons like artillery, missiles and airstrikes.

"When there are air-raid sirens every night, and just sleeping is happiness, it is valuable," Mr. Zelensky said in his remarks. "When there are missile attacks every night, and waking up in the morning is truly priceless."

The Russian missiles, flying about five times the speed of sound, left little time for residents to find shelter on Thursday. Ukraine's air defenses shot at the missiles six minutes after the alarm sounded, hitting them all, the Kyiv military administration said.

But an interceptor missile near the clinic struck one of the 10 Russian missiles, Mayor Vitali Klitschko said, and the child and her mother were killed by the fiery debris. The girl's grandmother arrived as dawn broke to identify the bodies.

For night after night over the past month, Kyiv's 3.6 million residents have jolted out of bed and fled for cover under the fire of Russian missiles, many exploding in the skies and casting down life-threatening wreckage.

Mr. Klitschko said on Telegram that an additional 16 people were injured by debris from air-defense systems shooting down incoming missiles.

The police opened two criminal inquiries into the clinic shelter, Mariana Reva, the chief spokeswoman for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, announced Thursday.

The mayor said investigators would focus on whether the shelter had been properly maintained and why it might have been inaccessible. Police officers would now patrol bomb shelters during air raids to make sure they are open, he added.

The first deputy of Kyiv's Desnyansky District, the director and deputy director of the clinic, and a security guard were detained, the Ukrainian prosecutor general's office said late Thursday.

"Never again should a situation like this night in Kyiv, when people came to the shelter and the shelter is closed, happen again," Mr. Zelensky said Thursday night.

Though Kyiv has been attacked since the first days of the war, the intensity of Russian assaults over the past month has been jarring even for civilians accustomed to spending hours in bomb shelters and sleepless nights huddled in corridors.

The strikes on Thursday suggested that the campaign would continue into June.

Russia's renewed pressure on Kyiv, military analysts say, may in part be an attempt to keep air defenses tied up far from the battlefield as Ukraine readies an offensive. In Russia's border regions, like Belgorod, an atmosphere of frontline fear has descended on towns and villages that Russian officials say have come under Ukrainian shelling.

"We live in the conditions of de facto war," Belgorod's governor, Vyacheslav Gladkov, said on Russian state television this week, breaking with the Kremlin's usual euphemism of "special military operation" for the conflict. "Whether you like it or not, this war is going on. The enemy is coming in."

"People were running out of the buildings, throwing belongings in the car and rapidly, rapidly speeding out," said a Belgorod resident named Elena, who asked that her last name not be used for fear of breaking Russia's draconian speech laws. "It was scary; the town has emptied out."

On Thursday, Russia claimed heavy shelling by Ukraine's forces had damaged the town hall of Shebekino, just a few miles from the border, knocking out power and forcing an evacuation. Russian officials also said security forces had fended off an attempted incursion by anti-Kremlin fighters, even as the fighters posted video footage they said showed battles on the town's outskirts. Neither side's account could be confirmed.

Anxiety has grown since the fighters, two Russian paramilitary groups aligned with Kyiv, staged a brazen two-day attack in a nearby area, briefly taking several villages. Ukraine publicly denied involvement, but the fighters said they were supported by the Ukrainian authorities.

The seriousness of the attacks in Shebekino was indirectly acknowledged by the Kremlin, whose spokesman on Thursday told reporters that President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia was receiving regular updates from the town.

Russian border regions have been targets of missile strikes and raids since early in the war, but the intensity of attacks has grown since Kyiv pushed the Russian Army out of northeastern Ukraine last fall, bringing Ukrainian forces to the Russian borders.

On Thursday, Governor Gladkov of Belgorod said that hundreds of Shebekino residents, mostly older people and families with children, were being evacuated. A video posted on a Shebekino community page purported to show activists evacuating children from the town.

The evacuation Mr. Gladkov announced would be the largest such measure in the country in decades.

Another community page dedicated to Shebekino showed pleas for help in evacuating older relatives from the city.

"Please, help evacuate grandpa from Shebekino, I beg you," a user identified as Victoria wrote on the social network VK.

The Kremlin has largely remained silent on the situation in Russian border regions, and Mr. Putin only briefly commented on this week's drone attacks on Moscow, telling a reporter that Russia's defenses were adequate.

After the bombardment in Kyiv on Thursday, the Ukrainian authorities canceled some International Children's Day events as they sought to keep people safe and clean up the streets.

Reporting was contributed by Andrew E. Kramer, Oleg Matsnev, Alina Lobzina, Dmitriy Khavin, Nicole Tung, Victoria Kim and Anushka Patil.

Decorated as a Hero, but Now He's Tied to War Crimes

By YAN ZHUANG

DAN HIMBRECHTS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

A judge found that newspaper accounts of Ben Roberts-Smith's actions were substantially true.

SYDNEY, Australia — The case had been called Australia's trial of the century. And though it centered on a claim of defamation, it grappled with a more consequential question: Was the country's most decorated living soldier a war criminal?

On Thursday, a judge effectively found that the answer was yes.

Four years after the soldier, Ben Roberts-Smith, sued three newspapers that had accused him of killing unarmed Afghan prisoners in cold blood, the judge ruled against him in his defamation case, finding that the newspapers had proved that their accounts of his actions were substantially true.

The judgment was a rare victory for the news media in a country whose notoriously harsh defamation laws have been criticized for favoring accusers. And it will reverberate far beyond Mr. Roberts-Smith, as Australia continues to contend with the fallout of its 20-year mission in Afghanistan and the conduct of its elite special forces there.

"Australia has a reputation for being very plaintiff friendly," said David Rolph, a professor of media law at the University of Sydney. "Here we've got a comprehensive victory for the newspapers — that's not something that you see in every defamation case in Australia."

He added that the judgment would "bring war crimes into renewed focus," and may "put pressure on investigating and prosecuting authorities to investigate and consider charges for war crimes."

In 2020, the country's military released a damning public account of years of battlefield misconduct among its special forces in Afghanistan, including "credible evidence" that 25 soldiers had been involved in the murders of 39 Afghan civilians.

A government agency was subsequently created to investigate war crimes committed in Afghanistan, and it has started to examine between 40 and 50 allegations of criminal behavior. In March, the authorities made the first-ever arrest of an Australian soldier in a case involving the war crime of murder, accusing him of killing an Afghan man.

Although Mr. Roberts-Smith cided on Thursday, and it was a civil, not a criminal, case, it was the first time a war crimes allegation had been examined in open court in Australia.

Mr. Roberts-Smith, 44, was once hailed as the exemplar of an Australian soldier. In the 17 years he spent in the military, he rose

An Australian loses his defamation suit against newspapers.

through the ranks to become a commander of the Special Air Service Regiment. He received Australia's top two military honors and was named Australia's Father of the Year in 2013. Two portraits of him are displayed in the national war memorial.

But his public image was shattered in 2018 when The Sydney Morning Herald; The Age, a newspaper in Melbourne; and The Canberra Times published a series of articles accusing Mr. Roberts-Smith of murdering, or being complicit in the murders of,

Mr. Roberts-Smith was not named in the articles, but he later argued in court that he was clearly identifiable.

Over 110 days, the court heard from 41 witnesses, including many current or former special forces soldiers who gave evidence anonymously or in courtrooms closed to the public.

Bizarre details emerged: that Mr. Roberts-Smith had hired a private investigator to spy on a girlfriend at an abortion clinic after they had agreed to end her pregnancy; that he had been accused of burying evidence in a child's lunch box in his backyard; and that he had poured gasoline on his personal laptop and set fire to it.

The case contained two centerpiece allegations. In 2009, the newspapers said, two Afghan men were discovered hiding in a tunnel at a compound and taken prisoner. Mr. Roberts-Smith, the newspapers reported, killed one of the men, who had a prosthetic leg, and ordered a more junior soldier to kill the other as a form of initiation. Mr. Roberts-Smith then took the prosthetic leg back to Australia, the newspapers said, and encouraged other soldiers to use it as a novelty drinking vessel.

The newspapers also said that, an unarmed, handcuffed Afghan farmer off a cliff and that a colleague then shot the man dead as Mr. Roberts-Smith watched.

Mr. Roberts-Smith denied that any Afghans had been found in the tunnel in 2009. In the other case, he said, the man was a Taliban scout, not a farmer, and had been killed lawfully in combat, not after being kicked off a cliff.

The newspapers had to prove it was more likely than not — rather than beyond a reasonable doubt, as in a criminal case — that Mr. Roberts-Smith committed war crimes.

The judge found that the newspapers had successfully proved that their accounts of the two events were true, as well as Mr. Roberts-Smith's complicity in another murder. The newspapers did not successfully prove his involvement in two other murders.

Nine, the company that owns The Sydney Morning Herald and The Age, said in a statement that the verdict was a "vindication" of the journalists involved, and that their articles "will have a lasting impact on the Australian Defense Force and how our soldiers conduct themselves during conflict."

Arthur Moses, Mr. Roberts-Smith's lawyer, said that his legal

U.S. Sanctions Are Imposed On Sudan's Warring Factions

By HELENE COOPER and DECLAN WALSH

WASHINGTON — The United States announced new sanctions on Thursday on two Sudanese military factions and on companies linked to both sides, which have been fueling a war that has killed hundreds of people in Africa's third-largest nation.

Sudan's military, led by Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan, has been fighting the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces, led by Lt. Gen. Mohamed Hamdan, since April 15 in a conflict that has devastated the capital, Khartoum, and displaced at least one million people.

The sanctions came a day after Sudan's military pulled out of peace talks in the Saudi city of Jeddah, led by U.S. and Saudi diplomats, that aimed to stop the fighting and allow humanitarian access in a country where 25 million of the country's 46 million people urgently need help, according to the United Nations.

The Biden administration denied that the sanctions were a reaction to the collapse of those talks. But the move seemed to signal a growing international impatience with the rival military parties, whose feud has sent Sudanese refugees pouring into neighboring countries and stoked fears of a wider regional conflict.

The sanctions include visa restrictions on officials from both the Sudanese Armed Forces, and the Rapid Support Forces. American officials did not name the individuals facing the restrictions.

More crucially, the Treasury Department put two major weapons companies affiliated with the Sudanese Armed Forces and General al-Burhan — Defense Industries System and Sudan Master Technology — on its blacklist, barring Americans from doing business with them. It also put sanctions on Al Junaid, a gold mining company controlled by General Hamdan's family, and Tradive, a Rapid Support Forces-controlled company based in the United Arab Emirates that the group has used to procure weapons.

A senior U.S. official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity during a call with reporters, said the Biden administration would work with countries where the four companies operate to ensure compliance with the sanctions.

The White House signaled that sanctions were coming when President Biden last month issued an executive order expanding authorities to respond to the violence in Sudan.

The senior U.S. official said American diplomacy on Sudan is focused on obtaining a ceasefire, but added that the ultimate goal is to get the country back on a path to civilian rule. The official said that representatives from both sides continue to meet privately in Saudi Arabia, even as the military has formally pulled out of talks.

Weapons companies linked to the fighting also face restrictions.

Jake Sullivan, the White House national security adviser, stressed the dire ramifications of the sustained fighting.

"Despite a cease-fire agreement, senseless violence has continued across the country — hindering the delivery of humanitarian assistance, and hurting those who need it most," he said in a statement. "The scope and scale of the bloodshed in Khartoum and Darfur, in particular, is appalling."

The State Department also put visa restrictions on officials affiliated with former dictator Omar Hassan al-Bashir, who was deposed in 2019 after three decades in power.

Before turning on each other in April, the two generals had joined forces 20 months ago and seized power in a coup, derailing a revolution that had seen the ouster of Mr. Bashir.

After the military coup in October 2021, the United States froze $700 million in direct assistance to Sudan's government and suspended debt relief. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund froze $6 billion in immediate assistance and plans to forgive $50 billion of debt. Other governments and institutions, including the African Development

Helene Cooper reported from Washington and Declan Walsh

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National

The New York Times

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Mayor Francis X. Suarez of Miami is considering mounting a Republican presidential run on the premise that his city is doing better than most — a notion that has some truth but obscures other truths.

With Miami's City Hall in Turmoil, Its Mayor Weighs a 2024 Run

By PATRICIA MAZZEI

MIAMI — Mayor Francis X. Suarez of Miami has visited early primary states in recent weeks, mulling a Republican presidential run built on the premise that his in-vogue city has boomed in difficult times — "the Miami miracle," he calls it. Techies have flocked to the city from San Francisco. Bankers from New York. Taxes — and the murder rate — are low.

It makes for a rosy story, not untrue.

At the same time, a very different story about Miami unfolded recently in a drama-filled civil trial against a city commissioner who was accused by a pair of businessmen of violating their First Amendment rights by siccing inspectors on their bars and restaurants as political retribution. Testimony from a parade of former public employees portrayed City Hall as a toxic workplace, rife with dysfunction.

On Thursday, a jury ruled in favor of the plaintiffs, holding the commissioner, Joe Carollo, liable for more than $63 million in damages.

Miami has long been a city of confounding narratives, the airbrushed image it projects to outsiders often obscuring the complicated realities that lie beneath. But these days, the contrast between the Miami brand and the goings-on at City Hall seems especially stark.

Under the city's shiny postpandemic hood lie the inner workings of a local government mired in turmoil. The trial and its revelations came at a pivotal moment, as Miami teems with new residents whose arrival has put pressure on services, housing and roadways, and as Mayor Suarez, who took office in 2017, considers trying to leverage the city's popularity to run for higher office.

The mayor was not implicated in the trial, but a national campaign would bring new scrutiny to the problems at City Hall under his watch, a reminder that Miami has never been as easy to summarize as its marketing pitch.

"Miami is not the glamorous place that everybody believes," said Manolo Reyes, a city commissioner who was not the one on trial. "We have problems, and we have to solve those problems and tackle them head on."

There are troubling signs beyond the trial. A federal judge ordered the city last month to draw new commission districts after finding that commissioners — there are five who make up the city's legislative body — racially gerrymandered the boundaries last year. Last week, a former spokesman for Mr. Suarez pleaded guilty to receiving sexually explicit photographs from a 16-year-old boy after first meeting him in City Hall in 2019.

In April, two Black officers filed a whistle-blower case against the Miami Police Department, saying that they faced discrimination and retaliation after reporting corruption. In January, a retiring police sergeant used her radio sign-off to blast the chief for having "destroyed" the department.

Mr. Suarez — who will face Gov. Ron DeSantis, with whom he has openly disagreed at times, if he enters the Republican primary — does have some data points to brag about: Wages and salaries have risen more sharply than in most

SCOTT MCINTYRE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

SCOTT BAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

On Thursday, a jury held a city commissioner, Joe Carollo, left, liable for $63 million in damages to two businessmen who accused him of targeting their businesses, including the Ball & Chain nightclub, right, for political reasons.

A flood of new residents puts pressure on services, housing and roadways.

employment rate is lower than the national average. The real estate market remains buoyant, if somewhat less so than during the pandemic frenzy, a contrast with recent downturns in other big cities.

"I focus on the results, and the results are very clear," said Mr. Suarez, a 45-year-old Cuban American and the president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said in a recent interview. "That speaks to the Miami model being a working model that's scalable across urban America."

But Miami also ranks as one of the nation's most unaffordable cities for housing. It consistently has one of the highest rates of income inequality.

At City Hall, spending has stalled on a $400 million bond that voters approved in 2017 to address widespread flooding, the lack of affordable housing and other infrastructure problems. The Police Department is on its third chief in three years. The city attorney and her relatives are facing questions on whether firms they owned or helped run financially benefited from a county-run program that is now under investigation.

After repeatedly clashing with the city commissioners, who among other things pushed out his police chief in 2021, Mr. Suarez pivoted and worked on raising his profile. He found a niche posting online videos about his recovery from Covid and later promoting the city, famously responding to a venture capitalist who in 2020 suggested moving Silicon Valley to Miami by posting on Twitter, "How can I help?"

He also heavily promoted cryptocurrency, calling Miami the "crypto capital of the world," before it collapsed last year.

Mr. Suarez has come under heightened scrutiny after a series of revelations by The Miami Herald involving his failure to disclose financial interests, including that a developer paid him at least $170,000 over the past two years to help with a $70 million project.

"I don't know why my local paper is obsessed with how many jobs I do," he said on the CBS Sunday news program "Face the Nation." "I think they should be focused on the job of being mayor, which I think I do a great job at."

Mr. Suarez, who is in his second and final term, has declined to disclose his consulting clients. He receives compensation of about $130,000 for his part-time job as mayor, though his power — and, critics argue, any credit he can claim — is limited: He has no commission vote but can veto legislation and hire and fire the city manager. (A separate mayor and commission run Miami-Dade County, a far larger government whose mayor does have broad executive powers.)

Former Mayor Tomás Regalado, Mr. Suarez's predecessor and a fellow Republican, who is considering running for mayor again, called Miami "ethically challenged."

"The city is going through a very difficult situation in terms of governance, because you have a city commission in which every commissioner believes that they are the mayor and manager," he said. "And you have an absent mayor."

The trial pitted Mr. Carollo, a city commissioner and former mayor, against two businessmen, Bill Fuller and Martin Pinilla, who said that Mr. Carollo "weaponized" the code enforcement department against them because they backed Mr. Carollo's opponent in 2017.

Mr. Carollo, a Republican who at 68 has been a bombastic figure in Miami politics for decades, countered that his actions were intended to preserve residents' quality of life and ensure that the plaintiffs' properties, some of which had fallen into disrepair, were safe and operating with proper permits. One night, it was noted during the trial, one of their bars was found to be running an illegal boxing ring.

Mr. Fuller and Mr. Pinilla have extensive property holdings in Miami's Little Havana neighborhood; Mr. Fuller co-owns Ball & Chain, a popular bar and nightclub. The plaintiffs' lawyer said that their businesses had been cited for code violations 84 times. One business was forced to move and another to close.

The jury held Mr. Carollo liable for $15.9 million in compensatory damages and $47.6 million in punitive damages.

The trial, which began in April, was full of outlandish accusations and startling anecdotes, including that Mr. Carollo patrolled the plaintiffs' properties late at night and wanted an aide to secretly measure the distance from one of their businesses to a church, looking for grounds to revoke a liquor license.

Mr. Carollo, who took the stand for several days, called the plaintiffs' witnesses — including a former city manager, three former police chiefs and several former aides to Mr. Carollo — liars with personal "gripes."

"I'd put my record against anyone in the city," he said.

In the recent interview, Mr. Suarez was dismissive of the trial. "It's typical for the press to focus on things that are negative," he said.

The city spent at least $1.9 million on legal fees to defend Mr. Carollo, who could appeal Thursday's verdict. But a more serious case looms for City Hall: The corporate entity that owns the Ball & Chain nightclub has filed a separate lawsuit against the city, not the commissioner, for $28 million in business losses.

LYNNE SLADKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

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Thirsty Arizona Draws a Hard Line on New Housing Around Phoenix

From Page A1

that rely on wells for water.

Phoenix and nearby large cities, which must obtain separate permission from state officials for their development plans every 10 to 15 years, would also be denied approval for any homes that rely on groundwater beyond what the state has already authorized.

The decision means cities and developers must look for alternative sources of water to support future development — for example, by trying to buy access to river water from farmers or Native American tribes, many of whom are facing their own shortages.

That rush to buy water is likely to rattle the real estate market in Arizona, making homes more expensive and threatening the relatively low housing costs that had made the region a magnet for people from across the country.

"Housing affordability will be a challenge moving forward," said Spencer Kamps, vice president of legislative affairs for the Home Builders Association of Central Arizona, an industry group. He noted that even as the state limits home construction, commercial buildings, factories and other kinds of development can continue.

Even so, the change will act as a signal to developers, said Sarah Porter, director of the Kyl Center for Water Policy at Arizona State University. "We see the horizon for the end of sprawl," she said.

A groundwater shortage would likely not derail the planned growth in the short term in major cities like Phoenix, Scottsdale and Mesa, Ms. Porter said.

"There is still capacity for development within designated cities," Ms. Porter said, referring to cities whose growth plans had already been approved by state water officials. Those cities would not be able to get approval to build any homes that rely on groundwater beyond that amount.

The new restrictions would be felt hardest and most immediately in small towns and unincorporated swaths of desert along the fringes of the Phoenix metro area — where most lower-cost homes tend to get built. "Those have been hot spots for growth," Ms. Porter said.

The announcement is the latest example of how climate change is reshaping the American Southwest. A 23-year drought and rising temperatures have lowered the level of the Colorado River, threatening the 40 million Americans in Arizona and six other states who rely on it — including residents of Phoenix, which gets water from the Colorado by aqueduct.

Rising temperatures have increased the rate of evaporation from the river, even as crops require more water to survive those higher temperatures. The water that Arizona receives from the Colorado River has already been cut significantly through a voluntary agreement among the seven states. Last month, Arizona agreed to conservation measures that would further reduce its supply.

The result is that Arizona's water supply is being squeezed from both directions: disappearing groundwater as well as the shrinking Colorado River.

And the water shortage could be more severe than the state's analysis shows because it assumes that Arizona's supply from the Colorado would remain constant over the next 100 years, something that is uncertain at best.

The Phoenix area occupies a valley in southern Arizona, cradled by mountain ridges and sliced by the Salt and Gila Rivers. The landscape is filled with lush golf courses, baseball diamonds, farm fields and swimming pools, contrasted against rocky brown terrain that surrounds it.

The county uses some 2.2 billion gallons of water a day — more than twice as much as New York City, despite having half as many people.

Arizona's water problems have begun to percolate through the state's politics. When she took office as governor in January, Ms. Hobbs pledged in her first major address to tighten controls on groundwater use around the state.

As evidence of that commitment, Ms. Hobbs released a report that she said had been suppressed by the previous administration, which was Republican-led. It showed that an area west of Phoenix, called the Hassayampa sub-basin, doesn't have enough water for new wells. As a result, the Arizona Department of Water Resources said it would no longer issue new permits in that region for the construction of homes that would rely on groundwater.

But Hassayampa is just one of several sub-basins that make up the larger groundwater basin underneath metropolitan Phoenix. The state's announcement on Thursday essentially extends that finding across the Phoenix area.

One of the places very likely to feel the impact of the new restrictions is Queen Creek.

When Arizona created its groundwater rules more than 40 years ago, Queen Creek was still mostly expansive farmland, including peach and citrus groves. Today, it is one of the fastest-growing places in Arizona, where families go fishing at an "oasis" lake fed by recycled wastewater. The town's population of 75,000 is projected to grow to 175,000 by the time it is built out decades from now.

But to do any of that, the town needs to find more water.

"We're in search of about 30,000 acre feet," or about 9.8 billion gallons per year, said Paul Gardner, Queen Creek's utility director.

Since there isn't enough groundwater to supply its needs for future growth, Queen Creek is hunting for water anywhere it can, exploring proposals such as transferring it via canal from western Arizona, expanding the Bartlett Lake reservoir by joining other cities in a project to build a higher dam.

Unlike Phoenix, Queen Creek doesn't have a "designation" from the state — essentially, a determination that the city has enough water to support new homes. Without that designation, each proposed development must prove to the state it has a 100-year supply. Developers without that seal of approval would now have to find sources other than groundwater.

Even as the state takes steps to try to slow depletion, the Kyl Center has warned that Arizona is still pumping too much groundwater. New industrial projects are sucking up groundwater without restrictions, and demand for water is outpacing any gains from conservation efforts, the center found in a 2021 report.

Despite the increasingly dire warnings from the state and water experts, some developers note that construction will not stop anytime soon. The Arizona water agency has given permission for construction on about 80,000 housing lots that have yet to be built, a state official said.

Cynthia Campbell, Phoenix's water-resources management adviser, said the city largely relies on river water, and groundwater represents only about 2 percent of its water supply. But that could change drastically if Arizona were hit with drastic cuts in its Colorado River allotments, forcing the city to pump more groundwater.

Many outlying developments and towns in Maricopa County's sprawl have been able to build by enrolling in a state-authorized program that lets subdivisions suck up groundwater in one place if they pump it back into the ground elsewhere in the basin.

Ms. Campbell said the idea that you could balance water supplies like that had always been a "legal fiction," one that now appears to be unraveling as the state takes a harder look at where the groundwater supplies are coming up short.

"This is the hydrologic disconnect coming home to roost," Ms. Campbell said.

In outlying areas, "a lot of the developers are really worried, they're freaked," Ms. Campbell said. "The reality is, it all came back to catch us."

Christopher Flavelle reported from Washington, and Jack Healy from Phoenix.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY REBECCA NOBLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Stalled construction, above, and a well site, left, in Queen Creek, a Phoenix suburb. The town's population, now 75,000, is projected to reach 175,000 in coming decades, and its utility director says it is in search of nearly 10 billion gallons of water a year.

Searching for Medal From 1908 Spelling Bee

By LIVIA ALBECK-RIPKA

Before a crowd of thousands in Cleveland on June 29, 1908, Marie C. Bolden, 14, defied the odds and won what is believed to be the first national spelling bee competition. She was the only Black participant.

She was named the individual champion and helped lead her Cleveland classmates to the team championship, but her success at the bee, held during the National Education Association's annual convention, was met with racial prejudice. Southern newspapers claimed a team from New Orleans had lost because they were unsettled by Ms. Bolden's presence and the city's school superintendent vowed his students would never again compete in Northern states.

Children on teams from Pittsburgh and Erie, Pa. — who had initially refused to compete against Ms. Bolden — shook her hand when she won.

"I did not enter the spelling contest for personal glory," Ms. Bolden, the daughter of a mail carrier, told a reporter from The New York Times as she stepped from the stage. "But to try to help bring honor to my teacher and my school."

The competition came 17 years before the first Scripps National Spelling Bee in 1925. In the decades that followed, Black students faced discrimination and doubt. Nearly a century later, in June 2021, Zaila Avant-garde, a 14-year-old eighth grader, became the first Black student to win the Scripps competition. The finals of this year's bee will be held Thursday night.

Ms. Bolden would eventually marry and move to Canada. She never spoke of the victory, and the memory of it was lost, as was the medal she won.

Now, more than a century later, some of her descendants are trying to revive her story and find her lost award.

"I can only speculate as to why she never mentioned it, but I suspect that the experience of going from pride at victory to finding herself in the center of a storm of prejudice must have contributed," Ms. Bolden's grandson Mark Brown, a retired schoolteacher in Toronto, said in a statement. "We only started to piece together the details following her death" in 1981, he said.

Her story was recently taken up by researchers from the language learning platform Babbel, who were exploring the history of spelling bees in the United States. While no known images of the medal exist, the organization believes the award is gold, with a clasp or pin, and may be engraved with the words "Champion — American Public School Spellers," "Cleveland Board Of Education," or the year 1908. Anyone who finds it, the organization said, should get in touch.

"When our research led us to her story, we couldn't believe how little-known and under-celebrated it was," Malcolm Massey, a language expert at the company, said in a statement. Ms. Bolden's statements at the time, he added, offered clues about her method: "Her parents and friends helped her memorize words, and she read a newspaper each day to per-

for today's would-be spelling bee champions."

Ms. Bolden was an unlikely champion — she ranked last on her team, and could have been replaced as schools across the nation held spelling competitions and vied for a spot in the national championship, which drew teams of eighth-grade students from 34 cities, 510 children in all, according to Cleveland.com.

The four teams in the finals were from Cleveland, Erie, New Orleans and Pittsburgh. The New Orleans team, having learned Ms. Bolden was participating, threatened to withdraw from the competition.

Warren Hicks, the event's organizer and Cleveland's assistant superintendent of schools, argued that Ms. Bolden deserved to compete. "This historical event was planned to foster the better teaching of spelling in school, but it resulted in more than that," he later said. "It demonstrated again that in our schools, every boy and every girl has a fair and even chance."

To compete, students first took a written spelling test of 100 words. They then spelled 400 words aloud onstage at Cleveland's Hippodrome Theater, a lavish playhouse that had opened the previous year.

Among the words Ms. Bolden spelled correctly were prejudice, persevere, misspell and embarrass. She earned a perfect score.

But her victory caused rancor among politicians and educators, some of whom refused to accept the result.

On the day of Ms. Bolden's success, however, the convention was "swept with a storm of applause," according to an article published in The Oskaloosa Herald, in Iowa. Booker T. Washington, who was born into slavery and later became an educator and political adviser, was in the audience.

According to Babbel, Dr. Washington stepped onstage after the event and noted: "You will admit that we spell out of the same spelling book that you do. And I think you will also admit that we spell a

Derrick Bryson Taylor contributed

CLEVELAND GAZETTE

A 14-year-old Black girl named Marie Bolden won the first national bee in the U.S. Her family is looking for her award.

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Senate on Verge of Approving Debt Bill, and Ending Threat of a Default

From Page A1

ment that their concerns would be addressed before it could be passed.

By evening, Senate officials and Senator Lindsey Graham, the South Carolina Republican who had been a chief critic of the Pentagon spending levels, said the pledge from the leadership was sufficient to reassure him and other critics sufficiently to back the bill, clearing the way for final votes.

"It does not fix this bill totally, but it is a march in the right direction," Mr. Graham said.

Democrats contended that the entire debt-limit episode should have never occurred and that Mr. McCarthy should not be rewarded for using the nation's economy as a hostage to win spending cuts but they said the prospect of a default needed to be avoided at all costs.

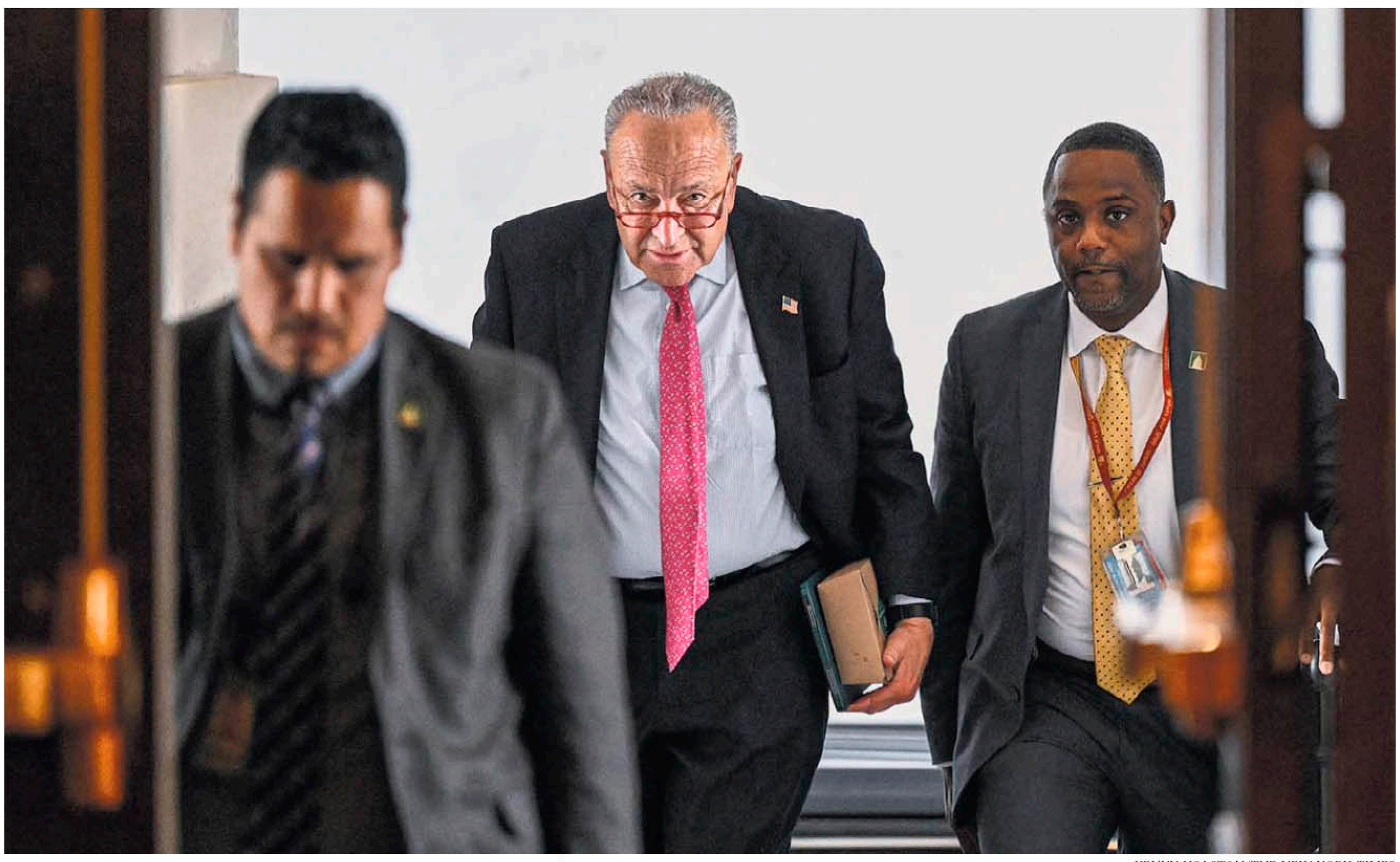
"Defaulting on our national debt is unacceptable, unthinkable," said Senator Richard J. Durbin of Illinois, the No. 2 Senate Democrat, who accused Mr. McCarthy of a "careless and reckless" act. "We cannot let it occur."

The debt-limit agreement, which was approved overwhelmingly by the House on Wednesday night, would suspend the $31.4 trillion debt ceiling until January 2025 while cutting spending on domestic programs.

It would increase Pentagon spending to $886 billion for next year, a 3 percent raise, but G.O.P. backers of higher spending for the military noted that that would not keep pace with inflation, and argued that the package fell far short of what was needed.

"To my House colleagues, I can't believe you did this," Mr. Graham said earlier in the day, accusing the architects of the measure of undercutting the military at a time of rising threats from Russia and China. "This budget is a win for China."

Mr. Graham and others insisted said that at a minimum, they merited a commitment that Congress would later move on an additional funding bill to beef up the spending, although this would in effect reduce the savings Republicans had hoped to achieve through their debt limit deal.



KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"America can breathe a sigh of relief because we are avoiding default," Senator Chuck Schumer, above, said on Thursday. Below left, Senators Susan Collins and Lindsey Graham, with Senator John Thune, were apprehensive about funding to deal with global threats. Senator Tim Kaine, below right, called for stripping a provision from the bill that would speed the approval of an oil pipeline.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

"We know that this budget is not adequate to the global threats that we face," said Senator Susan Collins of Maine, the senior Republican on the full Appropriations Committee. "An emergency supplemental must be coming our way."

The opposition erupted almost immediately after Mr. Schumer opened the Senate on Thursday morning by warning that the chamber needed to move quickly and make no changes to the agreement to clear it for Mr. Biden's signature by Monday. He admonished lawmakers not to engage in brinkmanship before the so-called X-date of June 5, when Treasury Secretary Janet L. Yellen has said the government will default without action by Congress.

"Time is a luxury the Senate does not have if we want to prevent default," Mr. Schumer said. "June 5 is less than four days away. At this point, any needless delay or any last-minute holdups would be an unnecessary and even dangerous risk."

Even as the deal migrated across the Capitol, the effects of the debt limit continued to pinch. The Treasury announced on Thursday that it would delay auctions of three-month and six-month "bills" — short-term debt that the government no longer has room to take on until the borrowing cap is suspended.

As part of the deal to move forward with final votes on the bill, multiple senators secured votes on proposed changes. Mr. Schumer worked to defeat all of them, as any alteration would force the

Lawmakers' concerns threw the timetable for action into flux.

measure back to the House, where no action would be likely to occur before the default deadline.

"Any change to this bill that forces us to send it back to the House would be entirely unacceptable," he said. "It would almost guarantee default."

After driving much of the legislative agenda the previous two years, the Senate left negotiating on the debt limit to Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy, whose demand for spending cuts and other policy changes brought the country to the brink of default. Nearly all Republican senators signed a letter backing Mr. McCarthy in the effort. As a result, senators had little influence over the negotiations and are now being forced to approve legislation they did not help shape. It was leaving some frustrated.

Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas, praised Mr. McCarthy's efforts but said senators had no obligation to simply rubber stamp the deal and deserved opportunities to change it.

"We weren't a party to the agreement," he said. "Why should we be bound by the strict terms of that agreement? The Senate has not had a say in the process so far."

But Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, urged his fellow Republicans to back the plan.

"Last night, an overwhelming majority of our House colleagues voted to pass the agreement Speaker McCarthy reached with President Biden," he said. "In doing so, they took an urgent and important step in the right direction for the health of our economy and the future of our country."

Joe Rennison contributed reporting from New York.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Don't Spike the Ball Early: How Biden Negotiated His Way to a Debt Deal

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — In the days since he struck a deal to avoid a national default, President Biden has steadfastly refused to boast about what he got as part of the agreement.

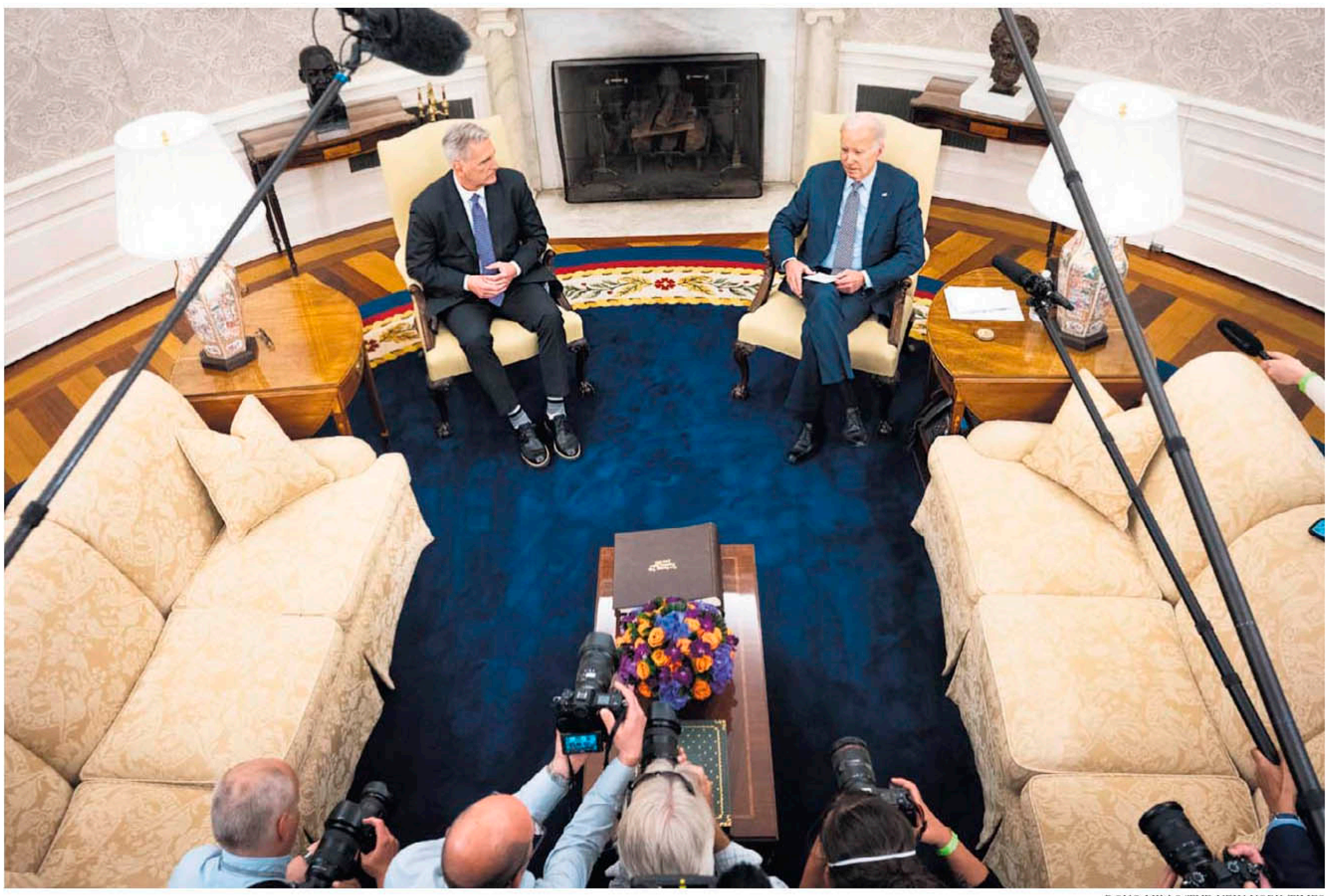
"Why would Biden say what a good deal it is before the vote?" he asked reporters at one point, referring to himself in the third person. "You think that's going to help me get it passed? No. That's why you guys don't bargain very well."

The president calculated that the more he bragged that the deal was a good one for his side, the more he would inflame Republicans on the other side, jeopardizing the chances of pushing the agreement through the narrowly divided House. His reticence stood in striking contrast to his negotiating partner, Speaker Kevin McCarthy, who has been running all over the Capitol in recent days asserting that the deal was a "historic" victory for fiscal conservatives.

While Mr. Biden knew that would aggravate progressives in his own party, he gambled that he could keep enough of them in line without public chest-beating and figured that it was more important to let Mr. McCarthy claim the win to minimize a revolt on the hard right that could put his speakership in danger. Indeed, in private briefing calls following the agreement, White House officials told Democratic allies that they believed they got a good deal, but urged their surrogates not to say that publicly lest it upset the delicate balance.

The strategy paid off with a strong bipartisan vote by the House on Wednesday night passing the deal, which will suspend the debt ceiling while imposing spending restraints for the next two years. The compromise still must be voted on by Monday in the Senate, where the procedural hurdles are byzantine, but with both majority and minority leaders on board, the chances of passage appeared strong.

The president's approach to the negotiations — and especially their aftermath — reflects a half-century of bargaining in Washington. When someone has been around the track as long as Mr. Biden has, resisting the temptation to spike the ball and claim victory can be critical to actually securing the victory in the first place. From the start of



DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

While Speaker Kevin McCarthy hailed the bill as a G.O.P. victory, President Biden struck a neutral tone to avoid riling up progressives.

the clash with Mr. McCarthy's Republicans, Mr. Biden has followed the instincts he has developed through long, hard and sometimes painful experience.

Some of his fellow Democrats complained that Mr. Biden's measured messaging — "it's a bipartisan deal," he would say when asked who got the better of the compromise — left Republicans to dominate the conversation. In their view, Mr. Biden was too eager to get an accord even at the expense of policy concessions they found anathema and too passive in making the case for the pact once he signed off on it.

"We don't negotiate with terrorists globally — why are we going to negotiate with the economic terrorists here that are the Republican Party?" Representative Jamaal Bowman, Democrat of New York, told reporters.

The who-won debate now raging in Washington could shape the narrative for both parties as they navigate this new era of divided government. Republicans want to take credit for putting an expanding federal government on a diet while Democrats want to tell their supporters they protected key progressive priorities.

The agreement crafted by Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy in the end was a whittled-down version of the original proposals on the

A measured approach that reflects a half century of bargaining.

table. Mr. Biden won no Democratic initiatives as part of the bargain — no new taxes on the wealthy or prescription drug discounts, for instance — but he succeeded in reining in the sweeping ambitions of conservatives who wanted to slash spending for the next decade and gut some of the president's most important achievements of his first two years in office.

The spending restraints will apply only for the next two years instead of the 10 years sought by Republicans and result in less than half of the cuts they wanted. The work requirements ultimately added to social safety-net programs were more modest than originally envisioned and not applied at all to Medicaid, as Republicans insisted. While some food aid recipients aged 50 to 54 will now face work requirements, many others who are veterans or homeless will be excluded for the first time in what the Congressional Budget Office estimated would be a net wash when it comes to the total.

Republicans' efforts to cancel clean-energy investments and block student loan forgiveness were stripped out of the final agreement, and they had to settle for trimming $20 billion from Mr. Biden's $80 billion plan to bolster Internal Revenue Service efforts to target wealthy tax cheats rather than cancel it altogether.

"As a purely political calculation, the #DebtCeilingAgreement could have been worse," Representative Ro Khanna, a prominent progressive Democrat from California, wrote on Twitter before voting against the deal. "But this is not about politics, it's about people."

Mr. Biden's approach was decidedly old-school in a new-school era. No matter how much Mr. McCarthy assailed him for waiting 97 days to talk about the dispute, the president believed there was no point in rushing into extended talks, given that no important agreements in Washington are made until a deadline is looming with catastrophic consequences if the two sides do not come together.

While he initially insisted that the debt ceiling was "not negotiable," Mr. Biden eventually abandoned that point of principle to do exactly what he said he would not. He barely maintained the fiction that negotiating about spending cuts was not the same thing as negotiating over the debt ceiling, a distinction few if any saw. When that was pointed out to him at one point this week, he finally shrugged and said, "Well, can you think of an alternative?"

Some in his party could — they wanted him to claim the power to ignore the debt ceiling, citing the 14th Amendment, which stipulates that the "validity of the public debt" of the federal government "shall not be questioned." But Mr. Biden is an institutionalist, and while he said he agreed with the interpretation that the amendment gave him such untested authority, he balked at asserting it at this point, reasoning that it would be challenged in court and still possibly result in a default during prolonged litigation.

Many others in both parties have run to the television cameras in recent days to make comments about the meaning of the agreement and the effects it would have on politics or policy, but Mr. Biden positioned himself as the calm man in the capital, the mature leader he hopes voters will prefer during next year's election. He did engage in occasional Republican-bashing when it seemed strategically useful, but he felt little need to jump into the public positioning fray just for the sake of it, either before or after the deal was cut.

Even as his allies and even his own White House issued incendiary statements, Mr. Biden acted like the person who has been there before. Because of course he has. Many times. At one point, during the final phase of the talks, as both sides were lobbing public grenades at each other while quietly narrowing their differences, Mr. Biden counseled reporters not to pay that much attention. It was all part of the process, he said.

"This goes in stages," he said. "I've been in these negotiations before." He explained the back and forth, involving negotiators meeting and then reporting back to their leaders. "What happens is the first meetings weren't all that progressive. The second ones were. The third one was. And then, what happens is they — the carriers go back to the principals and say, 'This is what we're thinking about.' And then, people put down new claims."

It would all work out in the end, he assured Americans. And as far as he is concerned, it did. No matter what anyone else may say.

NEWS ANALYSIS

For McCarthy, the Debt Limit Deal Is a Mixed Bag

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — When the debt limit fight began, it was widely assumed that Speaker Kevin McCarthy, untested and inexperienced in high-stakes negotiations, would either preside over an economically and politically calamitous government default or lose his hard-won post in a right-wing mutiny after caving to Democrats.

So far, he has managed to avoid both outcomes while claiming some fiscal and policy wins.

With House approval on Wednesday night of the debt limit package he personally negotiated with President Biden, Mr. McCarthy defied expectations and even earned grudging respect from White House officials while defusing the debt limit time bomb he himself planted by insisting on concessions in return for raising the nation's borrowing limit.

The bar was set low for Mr. McCarthy, known more for politicking and fund-raising than for policymaking, after he struggled mightily to win his post in the first place as House Republicans took control in January.

But in the end, he delivered an agreement that met his goal of cutting spending from current levels. It was not pretty; in fact, it was downright ugly. He managed to do so only with significant help from across the aisle, as Democrats rescued him on a key procedural vote and then provided the support needed for passage. Mr. McCarthy exceeded his goal of winning the support of the majority of his members with 149 backing it, but more Democrats — 165 of them — voted for the bill than members of his own party, an outcome that will fuel Republican criticism that he cut a deal that sold out his own people.

That is not the way powerful speakers of the past have typically accomplished their goals.

But Mr. McCarthy has proved uncommonly willing to endure political pain and even humiliation — a trait that was on ample display during his 15-round fight for the speakership in January — while focusing on extracting a few marquee concessions from Mr. Biden that could allow him to claim victory and avert a default he plainly wanted to avoid, even if many of his members did not.

His allies gave him credit for taking on the White House and Senate Democrats and emerging with a positive result when most Democrats were counting on him to fail. White House officials and congressional Democrats privately predicted that Mr. McCarthy would be unable to corral his extraordinarily fractious troops, and would therefore have no leverage in fiscal talks, allowing them to force through an increase in the debt ceiling with few, if any, concessions to Republicans.

"Underestimated for damn sure," said Representative Patrick T. McHenry of North Carolina, one of the lead G.O.P. negotiators. "Kevin McCarthy has always been underestimated."

Mr. McCarthy's achievement may yet come at a cost. Far-right conservative Republicans remain outraged at the agreement he struck with Mr. Biden, saying it fell woefully short of what he promised and what Republicans committed to as they pursued the majority last year.

Some feel personally betrayed and say he went back on his

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Kevin McCarthy met his goal of cutting spending.

promise to insist on paring back spending even further. More than two dozen rank-and-file Republicans registered their dissatisfaction with Mr. McCarthy by opposing the procedural measure bringing the package to the floor, an aggressive challenge to the leadership that also showed they were not worried about payback from the speaker's office.

Representative Ken Buck, Republican of Colorado, said Mr. McCarthy had hurt himself with many House Republicans "big time, big time."

"I think this is going to be a problem for him," said Mr. Buck.

Mr. McCarthy, in an interview on Fox News, said talk of unseating him was not a worry.

"To govern is not easy, but I don't want to be on the wrong side of history," he said, saying that critics of the package would regret their opposition. "Every single one of those members who vote 'no' will miss the opportunity to vote for the largest cut in American history."

That is almost certainly an exaggeration, though the agreement was chock-full of side deals and complex details that allowed the G.O.P. to claim far larger spending cuts than they secured.

One factor working in Mr. McCarthy's favor in holding off a move to oust him was that conservatives with standing among House Republicans, such as Representative Jim Jordan of Ohio, remained in his corner. There is a distinct segment of House Republicans who are eager to move past the fiscal fight and focus more on the investigations and culture-war issues that they think play better with their voters and are being lost in the current moment.

Mr. McCarthy's backers say his critics do not truly understand the limits of their leverage in controlling only the House while Democrats hold the majority in the Senate and Mr. Biden is in the White House. They say that Mr. McCarthy was never going to get the type of agreement the most extreme elements of House Republicans could embrace unless he was willing to force a devastating default.

For months, White House officials and Senate Democrats figured they could hold off Mr. McCarthy's demands to begin talks with Mr. Biden on budget and spending issues by declaring that he must first show that he could pass something through the House. They saw that as unlikely, given his four-seat margin for error and the varying ideologies of his membership.

The pivotal moment came in late April when, much to the surprise of the administration and congressional Democrats, he did just that, squeezing through a partisan measure that cut spending and rolled back Biden initiatives. The legislation had no chance of advancing in the Senate but served as a marker and won him a seat at the negotiating table.

Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the majority leader, downplayed suggestions that Mr. McCarthy had outmaneuvered the Democrats.

"Look at the result," Mr. Schumer told reporters. "It is a far, far cry from where the Republicans started out."

Administration officials conceded they may have taken Mr. McCarthy too lightly. They say privately that he proved a stronger adversary in negotiations than many of them were expecting.

He also won some policy concessions that administration officials had not expected to give. For months, top administration officials had privately predicted that Mr. Biden would agree to modest caps on discretionary spending to accompany a debt limit increase.

But Mr. McCarthy successfully pushed to protect military spending from the cuts, forcing domestic programs in such areas as education and environmental protection to bear the brunt of the reductions — a condition that Democrats have strenuously resisted in past budget negotiations. He also secured a side deal that would cut $20 billion in new funding for an I.R.S. crackdown on tax cheats, which Republicans had made a top target for cuts.

Such successes were still not enough to satisfy hard-right critics who wanted more. But Mr. McCarthy was willing to take what he could get and declare victory — and absorb the abuse he was already receiving in return.

House's Plan Holds Threat Of More Cuts

By CATIE EDMONDSON

WASHINGTON — The bipartisan legislation the House passed on Wednesday to suspend the debt ceiling and impose spending caps contains an arcane but important provision aimed at forcing both sides to follow through on the deal struck by President Biden and Speaker Kevin McCarthy.

The 99-page measure would suspend the $31.4 trillion borrowing limit until January 2025. It would cut federal spending by $1.5 trillion over a decade, according to the Congressional Budget Office, by effectively freezing some funding that had been projected to increase next year and then limiting spending to 1 percent growth in 2025.

But it also contained a number of side deals that never appear in its text but that allowed both sides to claim they had gotten what they wanted out of it. To try to ensure that Congress abides by the agreement, negotiators used a time-tested technique that lawmakers have turned to for decades to enforce efforts to reduce the deficit: the threat of automatic, across-the-board spending cuts if they do not finish their work.

A 1 percent cut unless spending bills are passed.

Congress is supposed to pass 12 individual spending bills each year to keep the government funded. But for decades, lawmakers, unable to agree on those measures, have lumped them together into one enormous piece of legislation referred to as an "omnibus" spending bill and pushed them through against the threat of a shutdown.

The debt-limit agreement would impose an automatic 1 percent cut on all spending — including on military and veterans programs, which were exempted from the caps in the compromise bill — unless all dozen bills are passed and signed into law by the end of the calendar year. Mandatory spending on programs such as Medicare and Social Security would be exempt.

A wrinkle is that, because the fiscal year that drives Congress's spending cycle ends before the calendar year does — on Sept. 30 — Congress would still need to pass a short-term bill to fund the government from October through December to avoid a shutdown.

Republicans and Democrats both dread the cuts.

The measure is a version of a plan offered by Representative Thomas Massie, Republican of Kentucky, a key vote to advancing the bill through the Rules Committee, who said he believed it would help avoid the Democratic-controlled Senate using the specter of a shut down to force the House to swallow a bloated spending bill at the end of the year.

"You get threatened and ransomed with a shutdown," Mr. Massie said in an interview in late April describing the plan. "I think we need to take that leverage away from anybody who would risk a shutdown to get more spending. Just take that off the table."

Some Republicans, including defense hawks, are livid about the measure, arguing that it would subject the Pentagon to irresponsible cuts. Senator Susan Collins of Maine, the top Republican on the Appropriations Committee and its defense subcommittee, called it a "harmful" provision that would leave a "threat hanging over the Department" of Defense.

"It would trigger an automatic, meat-ax, indiscriminate, across-the-board cut in our already inadequate defense budget and in the domestic, discretionary nondefense funding," Ms. Collins said.

Democrats, too, have a major incentive to avoid the cuts, since they have resisted reducing funding for federal programs all along.

Without spending bills, major parts of the debt deal will die.

Both parties stand to lose victories gained through handshake agreements during negotiations if Congress can't pass its appropriations bills.

The deals would allow Republicans to claim they are making deep cuts to certain spending categories while letting Democrats mitigate the pain of those cuts in the funding bills.

One unwritten but agreed-upon compromise would allow appropriators to repurpose $10 billion a year in 2024 and 2025 from the I.R.S. — a key priority of Republicans, who had opposed the additional enforcement funding championed by Democrats.

Another side agreement, sought by Democrats, that would evaporate if the spending bills were not written designated $23 billion a year in domestic spending outside of military funding as "emergency" spending, basically exempting that money from the caps in the deal.

Jim Tankersley contributed re-

Side Deals for Future Spending Lessen Savings in Debt Bill

By MARGOT SANGER-KATZ and ALICIA PARLAPIANO

The House passed legislation Wednesday night that will suspend the nation's borrowing limit and reduce the federal deficit, the result of lengthy negotiations between House Republicans and the White House.

But the bill is only part of the full deal. A New York Times analysis of public descriptions of the agreement finds that the full deficit savings will be only about two-thirds of what is captured in the bill. That's because the agreement struck by House Speaker Kevin McCarthy and President Biden will require Congress to appropriate much more spending as part of a second set of bills expected to pass in coming months.

Those future changes, which the White House is calling "agreed-upon adjustments," and which many observers have called side deals or even gimmicks, would increase federal spending in unconventional ways and then direct that money into the part of the budget that the current bill cuts the deepest.

Instead of a total deficit reduction of $1.5 trillion over a decade, as the Congressional Budget Office has projected, the full package would probably reduce deficits by about $1 trillion, including interest payments, over a decade. That's a major shift from where Republicans started negotiations — the bill they passed last month would have reduced deficits by $4.8 trillion.

Because the second half of the deal will not come up for a vote right away, lawmakers could change their minds. But negotiators are confident enough in the agreement that they are moving forward with the debt limit bill. That legislation also includes an incentive for Republicans to pass the second part: If they don't do so by the end of next April, defense spending will be automatically cut, an outcome most of them say they would like to avoid.

Most of the savings in the current legislation come from spending caps on a part of the budget known as nondefense discretionary spending. That category includes programs across the government that Congress must fund each year through legislation, including domestic law enforcement, environmental protection and air traffic control. The Congressional Budget Office projects that the caps would result in lower spending than its "baseline" forecasts — what would otherwise happen if current spending kept pace with inflation.

But many of the side deals negotiated between the White House and Mr. McCarthy would pump money back into domestic spending, reducing the effects of the caps. The White House has identified several categories of spending that would be increased in a future bill, which would effectively backfill the cuts made to these programs. None of them are technically described is why some critics have called them gimmicks. One, for example, would authorize additional spending for "emergencies," then allow it to be spent on normal domestic programs. Altogether, the additional spending could increase the deficit by $138 billion for the first two years, a change that is likely to compound over time.

The bill also modifies the defense budget, with plans to increase it slightly next year and then cut it slightly in 2025. But the changes to defense spending are much smaller relative to nondefense programs. (Our charts show the effects of the proposals in dollar terms, but many budget experts say it is more useful to compare the size of the budget deficit with the size of the economy, which is expected to grow.)

Outside of discretionary policy changes to the food assistance program known as SNAP, and to the cash assistance program known as TANF. But the C.B.O. did not think either would result in much savings to the federal deficit. In fact, the office estimated that the changes to SNAP would result in more people receiving food assistance than do under current law. The bill also claws back some unspent Covid relief money. And it reduces the amount of new funding available to the Internal Revenue Service over the next decade, a reduction that the C.B.O. believes will actually the amount the government collects in taxes.

But the budget cuts will not apply to the federal budget across the board, or even to the largest or fastest-growing portions of it. Social Security and Medicare — programs that are very popular and politically difficult to change — are untouched.

Compared with legislation passed by Republicans in the House last month, the current deal is modest. That earlier proposal would have cut discretionary spending by a larger share, and would have extended those cuts for a decade, not just for two years. Enacting cuts of that scale would have been quite challenging, especially if Republicans tried to spare favorite programs like defense and veterans' health care from reductions. Many of the policy changes in back in negotiations.

The last time Congress and the White House negotiated a major deficit reduction bill in exchange for raising the debt limit, in 2011, the range of affected programs was much broader, including Medicare and other spending categories this bill leaves alone. But many of the cuts enacted in that deal were quickly reversed by future legislation.

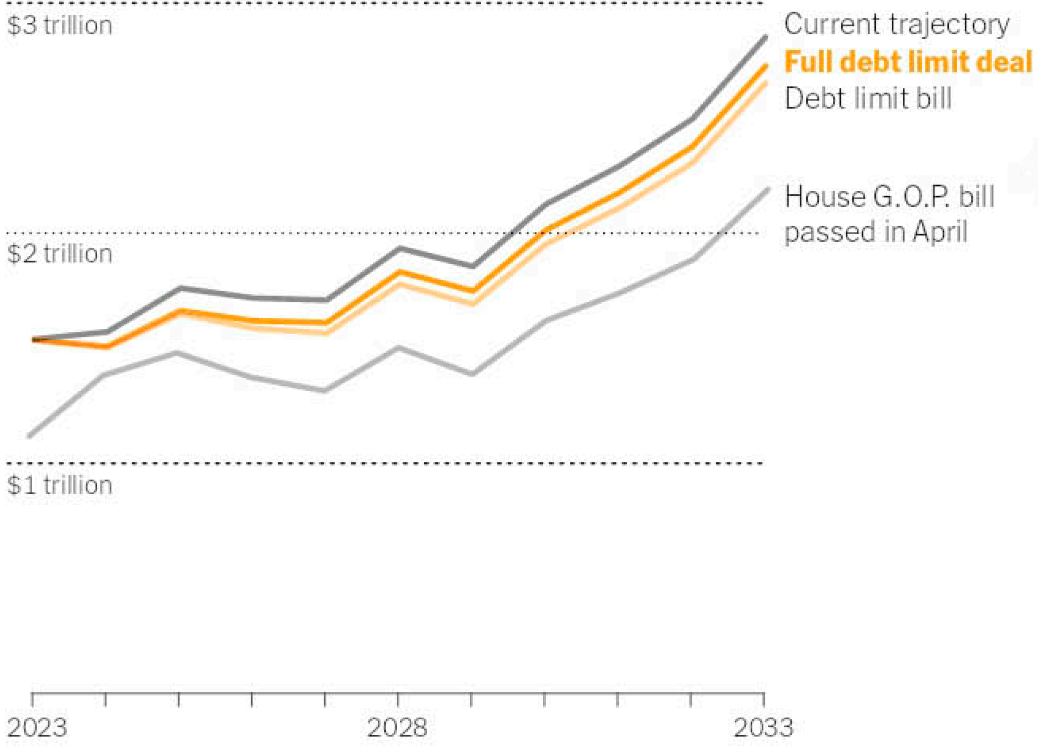
As the 2011 deal showed, all of these estimates depend on what Congress does in the future. There is a chance this Congress will renege on the current deal, making this legislation the final word on the deficit for a while. It's also possible that the entire deal holds, and the next Congress will still make vastly different spending choices.

Washington budget forecasts tend to predict the future in 10-year increments. A lot can

Future Deficits Under Each Scenario

The bill being considered by Congress does not take into account several "agreed-upon adjustments" that would cut into the bill's annual deficit reduction.

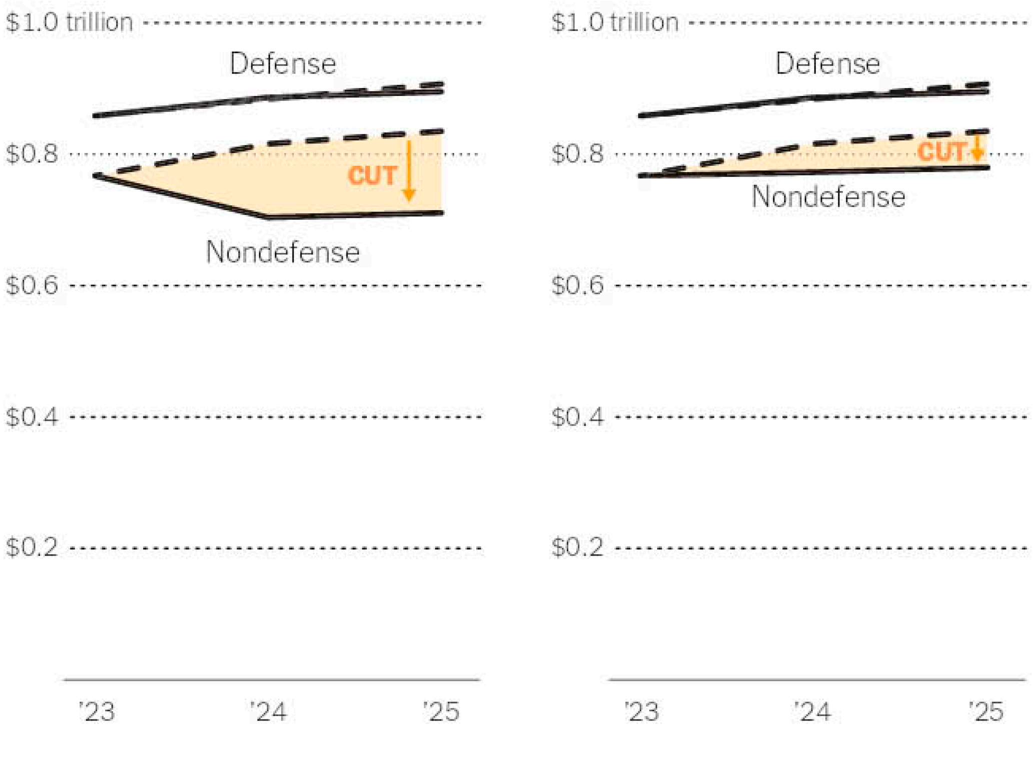
Annual deficit projections



Note: The debt limit deal scenarios assume that after budget caps lift in 2026, Congress will increase spending in line with inflation. Current trajectory reflects C.B.O. baseline projections.

Adjustments Would Lead to Smaller Spending Cuts

Caps in the bill would result in cuts to nondefense discretionary budgets by 14 percent on average over two years, but that does not take into account several "agreed-upon adjustments" that would reduce the size of those cuts.



Note: Dotted lines represent the C.B.O.'s baseline budgets, which reflect what would happen if current spending increased with inflation.

How the Bill Compares

The agreement, which would suspend the debt ceiling until January 2025, includes more modest budget savings than those in the House bill passed in April, which would have raised the debt ceiling for one year.

	Savings in G.O.P. bill	Savings in bipartisan bill
Discretionary budget	$3.2 trillion Institute caps on spending appropriated by Congress	$1.3 trillion Smaller caps, primarily on non-military spending. Money for veterans' health is protected.
Energy tax credits	$540 billion Repeal credits in Inflation Reduction Act	Not included
Student loans	$460 billion Prevent Biden administration plans to cancel debt	No or little effect Ends a freeze on loan repayments but does not prevent debt cancellation plan
Expanded work requirements	$120 billion Changes to TANF, SNAP (food stamps) and Medicaid	–$2 billion Changes to TANF and SNAP, with new benefits for veterans and the homeless
Covid relief funds	$30 billion Rescind unused money	$11 billion Rescind unused money
Energy regulations	$3 billion Reforms to energy regulations	No to little effect Some reforms to energy regulations, including an approval for a natural gas project
I.R.S. tax enforcement	–$120 billion Budget cuts would reduce tax collections, reducing the savings in the rest of the bill	–$0.9 billion Would immediately make a small budget cut. Another $20 billion would be repurposed in an adjustment
Total savings	**$4.8 trillion**	**$1.5 trillion**
If full deal is enacted		**~$1 trillion** Including changes in mandatory spending, more "emergency" funding, and reallocations from a Department of Commerce fund and from the I.R.S.

Notes: TANF refers to the Temporary Assistance for Needy Families program. Total savings include lower interest payments on the public debt. The debt limit deal scenarios assume that after budget caps lift in 2026, Congress will increase spending in line with inflation.

Sources: Committee for a Responsible Federal Budget; Congressional Budget Office; New York Times analysis of data on side deals released by the White House

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NEWS ANALYSIS

Trump's Own Words Could Haunt Him In Documents Case

From Page A1

House. They have argued that Mr. Trump, while still in office, had declassified all the material he took with him when he left.

It would also show Mr. Trump, in his own voice, invoking a sensitive government document to settle a score. In this case, he was rebutting what he perceived as criticism from Gen. Mark A. Milley, whom Mr. Trump appointed as the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

The precise contents of the document referred to by Mr. Trump during the recorded meeting remain unclear. And it is not known when or whether the federal government recovered the document from Mr. Trump as it sought to retrieve thousands of pages of material he took with him when he moved out of the White House in violation of the Presidential Records Act. That act makes all presidential records the property of the federal government.

But a recording demonstrating that he knew he had material that he had not declassified —

A recording threatens to weaken a key line of defense.

and that it touched on highly sensitive national security issues — could potentially be compelling evidence that he was aware he should not have kept it even as federal officials were stepping up their efforts to recover what he had taken with him.

The federal prosecutors under Mr. Smith have been examining whether Mr. Trump — the front-runner for the 2024 Republican presidential nomination — obstructed the government's efforts and whether he violated other laws regarding the handling of national defense information and government documents. Mr. Smith is also overseeing a parallel investigation into Mr. Trump's efforts to remain in office after his defeat at the polls in 2020.

After months of back-and-forth with the National Archives, Mr. Trump eventually turned over 15 boxes of material in January of last year. They turned out to include nearly 200 documents marked as classified.

After a subsequent subpoena demanding that he return any other classified material in his possession, he gave the Justice Department a little over three dozen additional documents and a letter from his lawyer saying that a diligent search had turned up nothing more.

Then, in August, F.B.I. agents with a search warrant swooped down on Mar-a-Lago, his residence and club in Florida, and carted away additional boxloads of material, with more than 100 additional classified documents.

The meeting that was recorded was more than a year before the search and was between Mr. Trump and two people helping with a book being written by the final Trump White House chief of staff, Mark Meadows, according to three people familiar with the session. A small number of Trump aides, including Margo Martin, who routinely sat in on and recorded book interviews granted by Mr. Trump, were present as well.

Ms. Martin was subpoenaed to appear before the grand jury hearing evidence in the case in March. According to a person familiar with the situation, investigators had the recording of the meeting before Ms. Martin's appearance. Her devices were subpoenaed after the appearance, the person said.

Some of Mr. Trump's own advisers, aware of the recording's existence, have been waiting for it to become public since Mr. Trump's town hall event on CNN in May, during which he gave an equivocating answer when asked directly if he had ever shown any classified documents to people after leaving the White House. "Not really," Mr. Trump said.

A lawyer for Mr. Trump continued to take the position, in an interview on CNN on Wednesday, that his client had declassified the materials he removed from the White House and could prove it.

But even the lawyer, James Trusty, refused to say whether Mr. Trump had declassified the document he waved around at the July 2021 meeting that took place at his private club in Bedminster, N.J.

In a separate interview on CNN on Thursday, a lawyer who recently left Mr. Trump's team, Timothy Parlatore, downplayed the legal significance of the episode at Bedminster and suggested that Mr. Trump had the documents because of a "failure of process" when he left the White House.

Mr. Parlatore said the question of whether the documents had been declassified was not relevant because Mr. Trump was being investigated for "willful retention of national defense information" under statutes that did not depend on classification status.

During the summer of 2021, Mr. Trump was infuriated at General Milley's high-profile roles in books and magazine articles. General Milley was portrayed as a last line of defense against an increasingly erratic and bellicose president in his final months in office. On the tape, Mr. Trump hit back at General Milley, according to the people familiar with its contents.

He suggested that it was General Milley — and not himself — who was a dangerous warmonger. He indicated he had a document that showed General Milley wanted to go to war with Iran.

Former senior government officials who were involved in Mr. Trump's Iran deliberations said General Milley typically urged restraint against Iran. They said they knew of no document drafted by the Joint Chiefs chair that matched the description suggested by Mr. Trump.

These former officials, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to describe sensitive discussions, said Mr. Trump could have been referring to summaries of deterrence options — ranging from fairly benign to highly aggressive — that were presented to him as he considered how to counter Iran.

Mr. Smith and his team have been exploring the documents case from multiple angles, including examining whether there are links between the material Mr. Trump took and his foreign business deals. They are also scrutinizing whether his employees sought to interfere with the government's attempt to obtain security camera footage from Mar-a-Lago.

But the existence of the recording opens up new questions, including what role Mr. Meadows might be playing in providing information to investigators, and highlights the extraordinary sensitivity of the material that Mr. Trump had access to as he was leaving office.

Mr. Meadows has for months been a source of suspicion and frustration among some in Mr. Trump's orbit. Mr. Trump was infuriated by Mr. Meadows's memoir, which revealed intimate details of the former president's bout with Covid in 2020. Mr. Meadows then provided something of a road map to investigators when he handed over thousands of private text messages to the House select committee investigating the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, leaving out only those that he believed to be protected by executive privilege.

But until now, Mr. Meadows's publicly known role in the investigations related to Mr. Trump had been mostly restricted to taking part in an expansive effort to limit the scope of the grand juries investigating his former boss with assertions of various kinds of privilege.

A lawyer for Mr. Meadows, George Terwilliger, declined to comment.

SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

HILARY SWIFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Advisers to Donald J. Trump have argued that while still in office, he had declassified all the documents he took with him to Mar-a-Lago, his resort in Florida. But a tape of him is said to undermine that claim.

Fund-Raising By Nonprofits Is Scrutinized By the U.S.

This article is by ***David A. Fahrenthold, William K. Rashbaum*** *and* ***Tiff Fehr****.*

Federal prosecutors are scrutinizing at least 10 political nonprofit groups — including five recently profiled in The New York Times — seeking to determine if the groups defrauded donors, according to two recent subpoenas.

The subpoenas, both signed by the same Manhattan-based federal prosecutor, sought recordings of the fund-raising calls made by two separate networks of political nonprofits that together have raised tens of millions of dollars.

In the last five years, the Justice Department has charged a handful of other political operatives with fraud for running what prosecutors called "scam PACs." Prosecutors said these groups deceived donors by promising that their money would be used to help politicians — then using it to enrich themselves.

The groups listed in the recent subpoenas have not been charged with any crime, and they have denied wrongdoing in the past. Spokesmen for both the New York F.B.I. office, which is conducting the investigation with federal prosecutors, and the U.S. attorney's office for the Southern District of New York declined to comment.

One of the two recent subpoenas was signed May 15, according to a copy obtained by The Times. It sought recordings of fund-raising calls from five nonprofits that The Times had profiled a day earlier: the American Police Officers Alliance, the National Police Support Fund, the American Veterans Honor Fund, the Firefighters and EMS Fund and the Veterans Action Network.

The subpoena said that prosecutors in the Southern District of New York were investigating allegations of wire fraud and conspiracy to commit fraud.

Together, these five groups have raised $89 million since 2014, mostly from small-dollar donors who answered fund-raising robocalls. The largest of the five groups, the American Police Officers Alliance, promised in its calls to "support legislators whose goals are to keep our communities safer," and to help the families of first responders killed in the line of duty.

But about 90 percent of the money raised was used to pay for more robocalls. Another 3 percent was paid to three political operatives from Wisconsin, who appeared to be the driving force behind all five groups.

Only about 1 percent of their money was spent to help candidates, via donations, advertisements or targeted get-out-the-vote operations. The American Police Officers Alliance did not give any to families of fallen first responders, records showed.

One of the five groups, the Veterans Action Network, shuttered in 2019. Its former president did not respond to a request for comment.

A lawyer for the other four, James Skyles, said in an email on Wednesday that the groups "are aware" of a Justice Department investigation, but declined to say how they learned of it or when.

Previously, the nonprofits have said that they followed the law, and that the I.R.S. had recently examined their returns and told them they would face no penalties. On Wednesday, Mr. Skyles said the groups had "absolutely not" committed wire fraud.

In the other subpoena, prosecutors also said they were investigating allegations of wire fraud — as well as an additional charge, money laundering.

Of the five groups mentioned in that subpoena, only one — Standing by Veterans PAC — remains active.

Two others have shuttered: Americans for the Cure of Breast Cancer PAC and Traditional American Values PAC. And two more, the Association for Emergency Responders and Firefighters PAC and the U.S. Veterans Assistance Foundation PAC, are seeking the Federal Election Commission's permission to close.

All five shared the same treasurer: a Wisconsin activist named Robert Piaro, according to election commission records.

In 2019, the watchdog group Center for Public Integrity reported that some groups run by Mr. Piaro had given nothing at all to political candidates, despite raising millions of dollars. In 2020, Reuters reported that Mr. Piaro's groups had paid more than 80 percent of their money to fund-raising vendors.

Mr. Piaro did not respond to requests for comment on Wednesday. In 2018, he told Politico that his fund-raising costs were high because his groups were just getting off the ground.

Mr. Skyles, the lawyer for the groups, said that none of them "have or have ever had any relationship or even contact with Mr.

Biden Makes Case for Global Alliances in Military Academy Address

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Biden made a forceful case for global alliances on Thursday, telling graduates at the Air Force Academy that rebuilding partnerships with like-minded nations had been the key to asserting American power abroad against adversaries like Russia and China.

"Our partnerships amplify our strength and make us more effective," Mr. Biden told the academy's class of 2023 during a sunny, morning ceremony at the Colorado Springs university. "And don't think our adversaries don't understand it. They work so damn hard to try to split us."

Mr. Biden's commencement address was the third military academy graduation he has addressed since becoming president; he spoke at the Coast Guard ceremony in 2021 and at the Naval Academy in 2022. He addressed West Point graduates twice as vice president.

Mr. Biden, who spent nearly two hours handing out diplomas to the graduates, tripped over a sandbag and fell to the floor on the stage toward the end of the ceremony. He was helped up by Air Force officials and members of the Secret Service.

White House officials later said that he was "totally fine."

During his remarks, Mr. Biden told the graduates — who will now become second lieutenants in either the U.S. Air Force or the U.S. Space Force — that they bear the burden of helping to safeguard a nation's way of life.

He said the mission they served was "greater than any person or president" and was part of the reason people around the world respected and admired America.

"It's our Constitution," he said. "It's our country. And it's our enduring American values."

He praised the graduates for persevering through four difficult years, including the pandemic that forced them to stay at home during part of their early days at the academy. Despite that obstacle, he declared them ready for leadership in the armed forces.

"You are the very embodiment of American military excellence," he said. "You are ready for anything — anything. And as I look out today, I give you my word as a Biden, I've never been more optimistic, never been more optimistic about the future of this country, in no small part because of you."

But the president grew most animated when he discussed what he called "one of the greatest assets you will harness throughout your careers."

"It's our unmatched network of alliances and partners," he said.

Mr. Biden did not mention former President Donald J. Trump. But he appeared to refer to his predecessor by repeating his assertion that relationships with foreign capitals around the world were in need of rebuilding when he came into office in 2021.

The president said those partnerships had been crucial in supporting Ukraine in its war with Russia, which has now gone on for more than a year.

"Freedom, sovereignty, democracy, simple dignity," Mr. Biden said. "Working with a coalition of more than 50 nations, we have delivered historic security assistance that has enabled Ukraine to defend itself."

Mr. Biden entered office with decades of foreign policy experience, having served for years on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and for eight years as vice president. He has long emphasized the need for effective alliances as a means for assuring global peace and stability.

In his speech on Thursday, the president made the case that the military strength of the United States was enhanced by the efforts to work collectively to confront challenges to freedom and democracy.

Telling graduates their job is bigger than 'any person or president.'

In particular, Mr. Biden said cooperation with allies had aided the United States in confronting China's economic and military aggression; North Korea's pursuit of nuclear weapons; and other challenges to stability around the world.

"The United States does not seek conflict or confrontation with China," he said. "China and the United States should be able to work together where we can solve some global challenges like climate, but we are prepared for vigorous competition. We will stand — stand up for our interest, our friends, for our values."

He also had some lighthearted moments during his remarks.

The president noted that the Air Force Academy was 7,258 feet above sea level and "far, far above that of West Point or Annapolis." He then joked that he made the comments to ensure that his Air Force One pilots (graduates of the academy) "are willing to take me back to D.C."

He also followed the tradition of former commanders in chief and waived any minor infractions on the graduates' school records, part of a tradition at academy commencement ceremonies.

Mr. Biden noted that he had "found myself in a little bit of trouble a couple of times" during his time as a student at the University of Delaware.

"I wish," he said wistfully, "that my commencement speaker had that power."

President Tripped and Fell During Air Force Graduation

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — President Biden tripped and fell after delivering a speech and handing out diplomas to graduates of the Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs on Thursday. Mr. Biden, who is 80 years old, was helped up and appeared to recover quickly.

Mr. Biden's fall was captured on video and spread on social media. He appears to trip, fall to his knees and catch himself with his hands on the floor of the stage. He was helped up by several Air Force officials and Secret Service agents, and he walked back to his seat.

Mr. Biden had just delivered an energetic speech to the Air Force graduates before helping to hand out the diplomas. He fell after he distributed the final diploma and was headed back to his seat.

White House communications director, said in a tweet Thursday afternoon. "There was a sandbag on stage while he was shaking hands."

Embarrassing moments are not uncommon for presidents, who spend much of their tenure in front of cameras. President Gerald Ford was repeatedly roasted by comedians for frequently tripping during his presidency.

For Mr. Biden, who is already America's oldest president and is asking voters for a second term that would extend until he is 86, the stumble at the commencement on Thursday is likely to add to questions about his physical condition.

The president's White House doctor has acknowledged that Mr. Biden's gait has stiffened signifi-

DOUG MILLS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Joe Biden appeared quick to recover as Air Force and Secret Service members helped him back to his feet.

slower, less steady walk. He has stumbled in the past: In February, he tripped and caught himself with his hands as he boarded Air Force One as he returned from Warsaw.

Republicans have seized on the president's stumbles as evidence that he is unfit for office, with

images or videos to make their point online.

But people close to Mr. Biden, including many of his staff members, insist he remains very fit and often has the energy to make it through long, grueling days. He exercises daily, they say, and is not overweight.

edged that questions about his age are legitimate, and before he fell on Thursday, he included a joke about his age in his remarks to the graduates.

"When I was graduating from high school 300 years ago, I applied to the Naval Academy," he said, prompting laughter.

Karine Jean-Pierre, the White House press secretary, told reporters traveling with the president as he returned to Washington from Colorado aboard Air Force One that the president was feeling "totally fine."

After returning to Washington, Mr. Biden appeared to be in good spirits. After bumping his head on the door frame of the presidential helicopter, he joked to reporters outside of the White House about the fall, saying he "got sandbagged" before skipping once and

For G.O.P. Candidates of Color, Racism Is a Narrative but Not an Issue

From Page A1

dates of color don't see their pasts in their present, even if the two front-runners in the race for the Republican nomination, Donald J. Trump and Ron DeSantis, are elevating racial grievance to the center of conservative politics, through overt or covert appeals to white anger.

"I know Nikki and Tim — both are brilliant — but for them not to be able to make the logical jump is troubling: Systemic racism is the issue," said Bakari Sellers, a Democratic political commentator who served with Mr. Scott and Ms. Haley in the South Carolina legislature. "For them to recount their own experiences but close their eyes to the bigger picture, it's troubling."

Mr. Elder, at an April gathering of evangelical Christians in West Des Moines, Iowa, spoke of his father, the Pullman porter who later became a cook in a segregated Marine Corps unit. When he returned from World War II, his father found he could not get a job in the whites-only restaurants of Chattanooga, Tenn., and struggled to find work in Los Angeles because he had no references from Tennessee.

Mr. Elder's father even asked to cook in Los Angeles restaurants for free, just to get references, and again was refused. He ended up with two jobs scrubbing toilets.

"There was something called slavery, the K.K.K., Jim Crow — that was codified," Mr. Elder said in an interview. "Of course there was systemic racism."

But now?

No, he replied, recalling the election and re-election of a Black president, Barack Obama.

In the early years of the Obama presidency, talk of a post-racial society — where the color of one's skin has no bearing on stature or success — was common. But later, an upsurge of white supremacist violence, including the massacre of Black parishioners at a Charleston church in 2015 during Mr. Obama's second term, along with the murder of George Floyd in 2020, shattered that idealized post-racial notion for many people of color from all political persuasions.

"That's part of the problem with Scott and Haley declaring there's no racism," said Andra Gillespie, a political scientist at Emory University and the author of a book on Mr. Obama's symbolism as a Black president. "You could have argued in 2006 and 2007 that racism was waning. That's a lot less credible today."

Candidates of color are not the only ones who rely on bootstrap biographies to bolster their appeal. Stories of struggle, impoverished childhoods, working-class roots or ethnic identity are staples for candidates in both parties, from Abraham Lincoln to Joseph R. Biden Jr. to Mr. DeSantis and his "family of steelworkers." But tales of racism and discrimination lend political biographies an added element of authenticity. Mr. Scott's family story — "from cotton to Congress" — was the subject of his first campaign ad, unveiled last week.

RACHEL MUMMEY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

ALLISON JOYCE/GETTY IMAGES

CHARLIE NEIBERGALL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Clockwise from top, Larry Elder, Nikki Haley and Tim Scott are all seeking the Republican nomination for president. Their cultural backgrounds have featured heavily in their campaigns, but less so in their policies. They deny that systemic racism still exists today.

For Republican candidates of color, whose audiences are often almost entirely white, there is another factor, according to strategists: Placing racism safely in the past and trumpeting the racial progress of their own lifetimes relieves today's G.O.P. voters from having to confront any racial animosity in their party. That can be a soothing message to Republicans who feel defensive about the party's racial makeup and policies.

"They're saying this to make an overwhelmingly white Republican audience feel better about themselves," said Stuart Stevens, a former Republican consultant who guided the party's 2012 presidential nominee, Mitt Romney. "It's a variation, oddly enough, of victim politics. People accuse you of being racist? 'That's unfair. Vote for me, therefore you'll prove you're not racist.'"

Under Mr. Trump, the Republican Party accommodated white nationalists in its ranks and embraced once-taboo ideas like replacement theory.

A Haley campaign spokeswoman, Chaney Denton, said: "In Nikki Haley's experience, America is not a racist country, and she's proud to say it. That's fact, not strategy." She added that "the only people who seem bothered by that" are "liberal race baiters."

At an event on Wednesday morning sponsored by the news site Axios, Mr. Scott was pressed to describe racism that he had recently experienced, to which he had a ready response: being pulled over by police officers more than 20 times for "driving while Black," which he said "weighs heavy on the shoulders."

"You find yourself in a position where you've done nothing wrong, but you are assumed guilty before proven innocent," Mr. Scott said on Wednesday. But he added, "Racism is embedded in the hearts of individuals."

Many white Republicans also reject the idea that America is systemically racist.

At a Haley event in February in Iowa, Charles Strange, a retired construction worker from North Liberty, Iowa, was more apt to see systemic issues impeding white people such as himself. "Structural barriers, let's see," Mr. Strange said. "Here's a structural barrier: You got quotas for Blacks for education — a structural barrier for a white person."

The downplaying of systemic racism by candidates of color fits with the party's push to stop the influence of "critical race theory" in how American history is taught and to defund programs that advance diversity in public colleges.

Mr. DeSantis, who joined the presidential race last week, recently signed a law eliminating diversity, equity and inclusion initiatives in higher education and paring back what he called "woke" academic programs. The Florida Department of Education blocked high schools in January from teaching an advanced placement course on African American studies, part of what the governor called an effort to combat "indoctrination" by the left. Elsewhere, Republican-led state and local governments are rewriting textbooks and ridding public libraries of stark racial lessons from the nation's past.

"Of all the threats, there is this national loathing that has taken over our country, where people are saying America is bad or it's rotten or it's racist," Ms. Haley told an Iowa crowd earlier this year. "I was the first minority female governor in the country. I am telling you America is not a racist country. It's a blessed country."

Many Republican voters and local officials agree.

"I'm not more racist than any Democrat, but they like to label and push that against us," Gloria Mazza, the Republican chairwoman in Polk County, Iowa, said at a Scott event in West Des Moines.

But Black audiences, even Republican ones, are far less receptive. Such difficulties for the party were on display recently for another Republican candidate of color, the entrepreneur and author Vivek Ramaswamy.

Mr. Ramaswamy held a town-hall meeting on May 19 on the South Side of Chicago, ostensibly to discuss the migrant crisis that has divided the city. He often talks of his feelings of isolation as the son of Indian immigrants growing up in suburban Cincinnati, but says that the experience made him stronger, not a victim. He has also made eliminating affirmative action a central plank of a candidacy that centers on a critique of identity politics.

The talk underpins a culture war against so-called wokeness.

But Black voters made clear they believed strongly that systemic issues, past and present, were holding them back. The discussion kept shifting from immigration to reparations for Black Americans, mass incarceration, disinvestment in Black neighborhoods and easily accessible, high-powered weaponry promoted by the firearms industry.

"There's all the money in the world to incarcerate us, and nothing to integrate us back into society," Tyrone F. Muhammad, founder of the group Ex-Cons for Community and Social Change, said while looking straight at Mr. Ramaswamy, a fabulously wealthy investor. Mr. Muhammad added, "There are too many billionaires and millionaires in this country for it to look the way it looks."

Then Cornel Darden Jr. of the Southland Black Chamber of Commerce & Industry stood to confront Mr. Ramaswamy on affirmative action. "Those laws have been in place for 70 years," Dr. Darden said, "and we're going to defend them."

After months of telling largely white audiences America is not a racist society, Mr. Ramaswamy acknowledged bigotry and said race-based preferences were exacerbating it.

"I do think anti-Black racism is on the rise in America today," Mr. Ramaswamy said. "I don't want to throw kerosene on that."

Maya King contributed reporting.

In New Hampshire, an Irked DeSantis Bristles at a Reporter: 'Are You Blind?'

By NICHOLAS NEHAMAS

ROCHESTER, N.H. — Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida was mingling with voters on Thursday after his first campaign stop in New Hampshire as a presidential candidate when a reporter asked him a question: "Governor, how come you're not taking questions from voters?"

Mr. DeSantis sharply disputed the premise of the reporter's question.

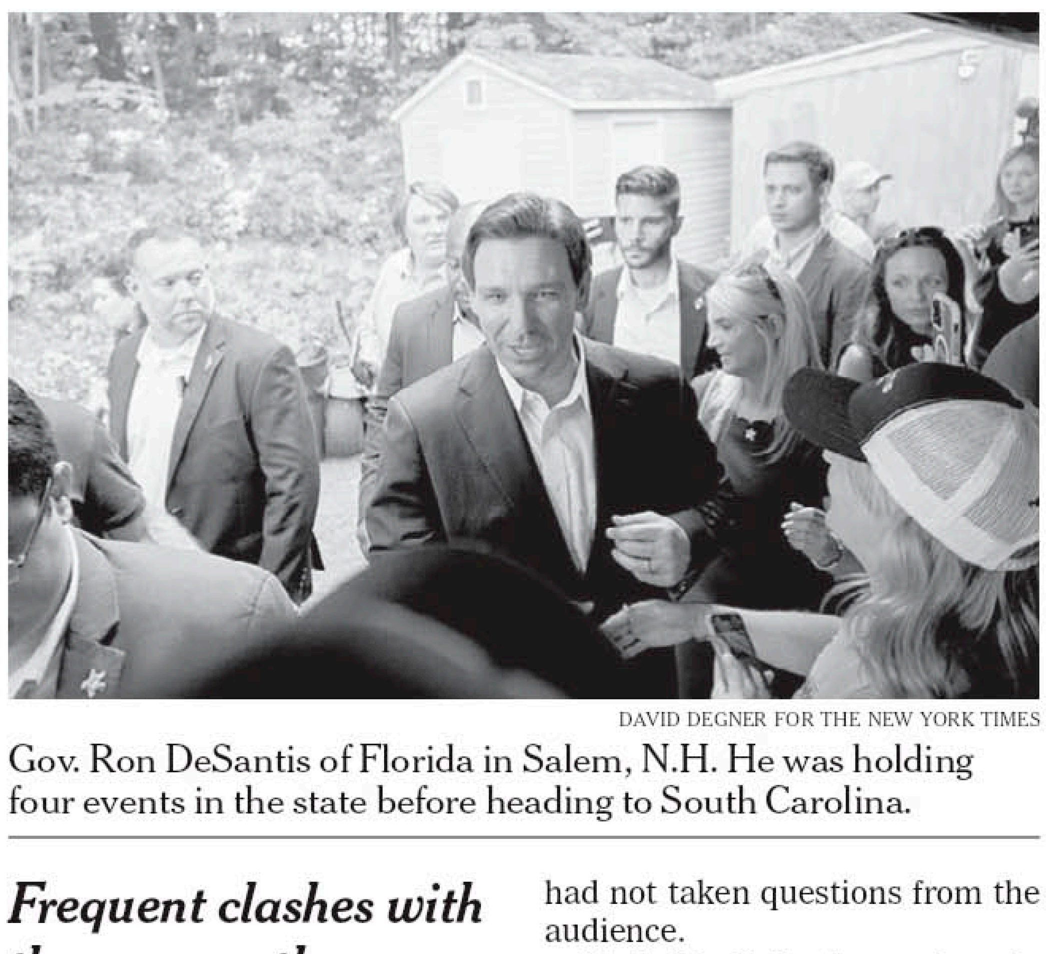
"People are coming up to me, talking to me," he said. "What are you talking about?"

But Mr. DeSantis did not leave it there. "Are you blind?" he asked. "Are you blind? OK, so people are coming up to me, talking to me whatever they want to talk to me about."

The moment seemed to crystallize both Mr. DeSantis's reputed temper and his adversarial relationship with the mainstream news media: As governor, he has frequently clashed with the press, and he generally prefers to give interviews in the friendlier confines of Fox News and conservative talk radio.

It also reflects how carefully Mr. DeSantis and his campaign have orchestrated his interactions with the public — a task that will grow more challenging under the national spotlight, especially in the early nominating states of Iowa and New Hampshire, where voters expect to talk directly with candidates, including from the stage of their stump speeches.

On social media, the governor's supporters were quick to point out that he has been taking questions from voters who approach him for selfies and autographs after his speeches. The main super PAC



DAVID DEGNER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida in Salem, N.H. He was holding four events in the state before heading to South Carolina.

Frequent clashes with the press as the governor of Florida.

a video of the interaction, framing it as an example of Mr. DeSantis shutting down "fake news."

But Mr. DeSantis, who formally announced his campaign last week, has not yet held a public forum like the CNN town hall event that former President Donald J. Trump joined last month. Nor has he answered voters' questions from the lectern after delivering his stump speech.

Mr. DeSantis is touring New Hampshire, where he sparred on Thursday with the reporter, Steve Peoples of The Associated Press, during a visit to Laconia. Some voters told news outlets covering the Laconia event that they were had not taken questions from the audience.

While Mr. DeSantis was largely able to stage-manage his media appearances in Florida, he may need to branch out to reach a larger audience as a presidential candidate. On Tuesday in Des Moines, he held a news conference, his first as a 2024 contender, where he called on a few reporters and answered their questions.

And so far in New Hampshire, Mr. DeSantis is taking more questions from members of the press — who peppered him with queries as he spoke with voters — than he has on previous campaign trail appearances.

At an event in Rochester, N.H., later on Thursday, Mr. DeSantis flashed a hint of truculence after a reporter asked him about Mr. Trump's claim that he could fix the country's problems in six months.

"Why didn't he do it his first four

On DeSantis, Trump and Cuomo Agree

By KATIE GLUECK

For years they overlapped in New York politics, two brash sons of Queens rising through the worlds of real estate and government, as Donald J. Trump donated to Andrew M. Cuomo's campaigns and made a virtual appearance at his bachelor party.

Then they were antagonists, with Mr. Cuomo, a powerful Democratic governor of New York, embracing chances to serve as a foil to the divisive Republican president.

Now out of power after Mr. Trump lost the 2020 election and Mr. Cuomo resigned in disgrace, they have found themselves in a moment of alignment, each lacing into Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida over his handling of the coronavirus pandemic.

"Even Cuomo did better," Mr. Trump said in a recent video.

"Donald Trump tells the truth, finally," Mr. Cuomo declared on Twitter this week, though he distanced himself from the former president's faint accolades on a podcast on Thursday.

Assessing the success or failure of each state's handling of the pandemic is a complex task.

New York — which for a time was known as the "epicenter of the epicenter" of the pandemic — and Florida, two large and populous states, both had higher death rates per 100,000 people than many other states.

According to a New York Times tracker, Florida had a slightly lower death rate than New York did from the beginning of the pandemic to March of this year.

Both governors faced plenty of scrutiny and criticism over their stewardship of the pandemic, with Mr. Cuomo sustaining particular heat over his administration's handling of nursing home deaths

For his part, Mr. DeSantis, who has emerged as Mr. Trump's chief Republican rival, has made his pandemic record — including his decision to reopen his state's economy relatively early, even in the face of coronavirus surges and hospitalizations — a focal point of his campaign.

He has used the issue as a way to draw his own contrasts with Mr. Trump, who, he suggests, went too far in empowering Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's top infectious disease expert during the pandemic.

"Do you want Cuomo or do you want free Florida?" Mr. DeSantis said in Iowa this week. "If we just decided the caucuses on that, I would be happy with that verdict by Iowa voters."

Representatives for Mr. Trump and Mr. DeSantis did not respond to requests for comment early Thursday afternoon.

In New York, former Gov. David A. Paterson, a Democrat, said the relationship between Mr. Trump and Mr. Cuomo had at times been less rancorous than those between Mr. Trump and many other Democrats.

Foes align to criticize the Florida governor's pandemic response.

"The acrimony that existed between the president and others was far greater than what theirs was," said Mr. Paterson, who mentioned that he had recently dined with Mr. Cuomo.

"The positive interaction now is, it's a tricky path," he said, even as he noted that he did not expect ship."

In his podcast on Thursday, Mr. Cuomo made plain that he did not intend to bear-hug Mr. Trump, noting that the former president had been highly critical of Democratic governors at the height of the pandemic, but seemed to be changing his tune — making a "total 180" — as he focused on a primary rival.

"Now the politics has shifted for Mr. Trump, who is running against Mr. DeSantis, and now Mr. Trump says, 'Cuomo did a better job than DeSantis,'" Mr. Cuomo said. "I'm very proud of the way New York handled it."

Corrections

FRONT PAGE

An article on Sunday about missteps in the Fox News defamation suit referred imprecisely to the groups involved in a post-mortem discussion of the defamation case between Fox News and Dominion. The Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression posted a video of the discussion on its website; it did not host the event.

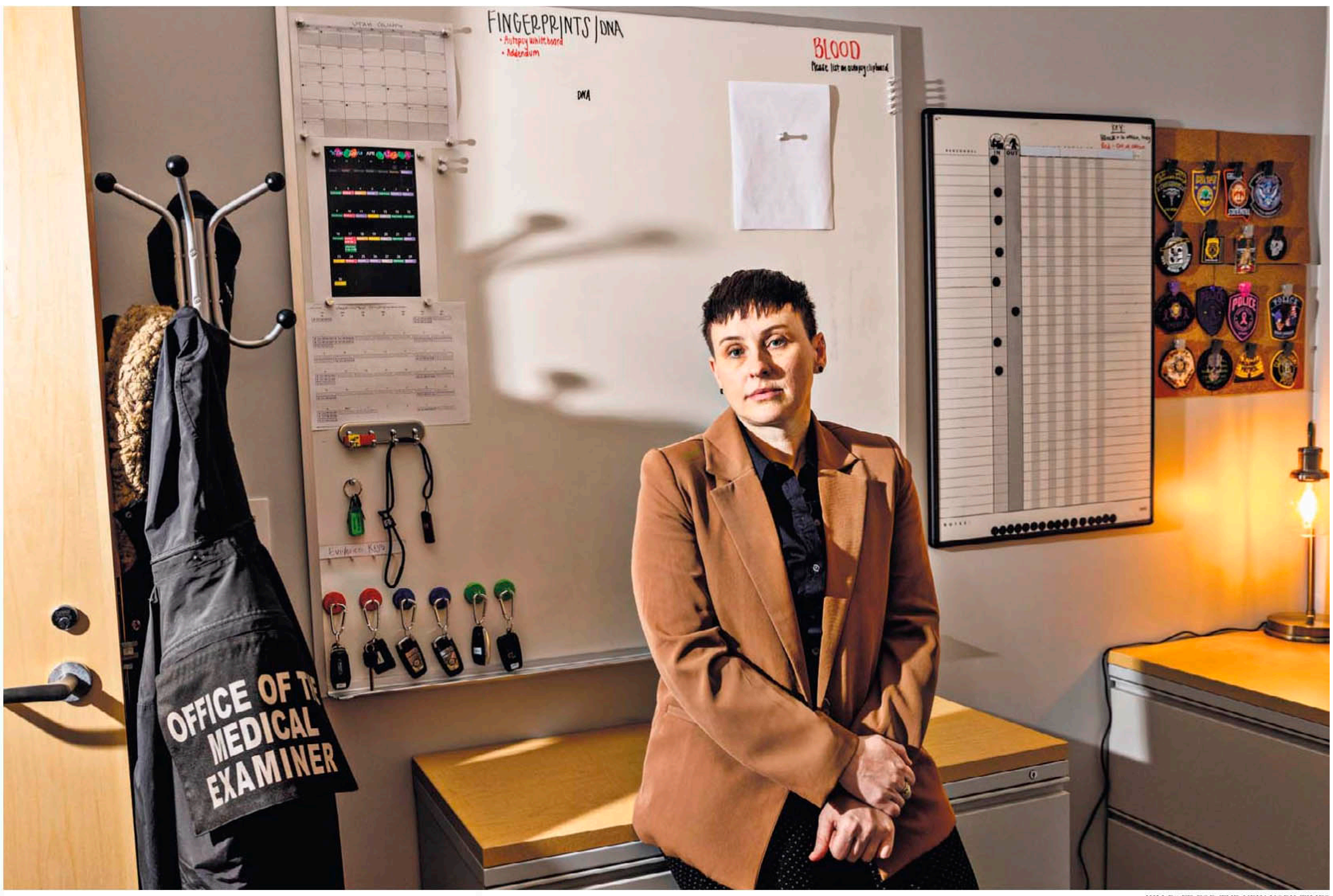
ARTS

A subheading with a Critic's Notebook on Monday about the New York City Ballet's spring season misspelled the surname of a dancer. As the article correctly stated, she is Sara Mearns, not Means.

Errors are corrected during the press run whenever possible, so some errors noted here may not have appeared in all editions.

Contact the Newsroom

To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email



KIM RAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Cory Russo, Utah's chief death investigator, is one of the few death investigators across the country who routinely collect data on sexual orientation and gender identity.

Utah Is Driving Push to Fill Void on L.G.B.T.Q. Suicide Data

By AZEEN GHORAYSHI

Cory Russo, the chief death investigator in Utah, is used to asking strangers questions at the most excruciating moments of their lives. When she shows up at the scene of a suicide, a homicide or another type of unexpected death, her job is to interview the grievers about how the deceased had lived.

How old were they? What was their race? Did they have a job? Had they ever been hospitalized for psychiatric issues? How had they been feeling that morning?

Over the past couple of years, she has added new questions to the list: What was their sexual orientation? What was their gender identity?

Ms. Russo, who works in the Office of the Medical Examiner in Salt Lake City, is one of the relative few death investigators across the country who are routinely collecting such data, even though sexuality or gender identity can be relevant to the circumstances surrounding a person's death.

She recalled the recent suicide of a young man who died in the house of older adults. During her interviews, Ms. Russo learned that the man had been living with them for a year, ever since his family had kicked him out of their house because he was gay. He had struggled with emotional upheaval and addiction.

"It was heartbreaking to hear," said Ms. Russo, a lesbian who has lost loved ones to suicide. "In that case, it was very relevant to understand that piece."

Studies of L.G.B.T.Q. people show they have high rates of suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts, factors that greatly increase the risk of suicide.

But because most death investigators do not collect data on sexuality or gender identity, no one knows how many gay and transgender people die by suicide each year in the United States. The information vacuum makes it difficult to tailor suicide prevention efforts to meet the needs of the people most at risk, and to measure how well the programs work, researchers said.

The absence of data is especially unfortunate now, they said, when assumptions about suicide rates among L.G.B.T.Q. groups are frequently thrust into high-stakes political debates. Some L.G.B.T.Q. advocates have warned that bans on gender-affirming care for transgender minors will lead to more suicides, for example, while some Republican lawmakers have claimed that deaths by suicide are rare.

Utah, which like many mountain states has a high rate of suicide mortality, has been at the forefront of efforts to collect such data since 2017, when its State Legislature passed a law mandating detailed investigations of suicides.

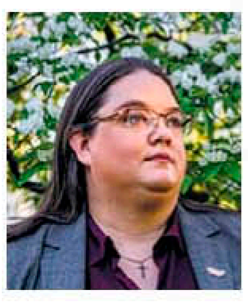
The lawmakers were "frustrated with being asked to respond to the suicide crisis in our state with a blindfold on," said Michael Staley, a sociologist who was hired to lead the data-collection effort in the Utah medical examiner's office. "It's a five-alarm fire."

In the months after investigators like Ms. Russo show up at the scene of a death, Dr. Staley's team of six people conducts "psychological autopsies," contacting family members of everyone in the state who dies by suicide or drug overdose for detailed information about the lives of the deceased.

Such data — which includes information on sexual relationships and gender, as well as housing, mental health, drug problems and social media use — can be used to help understand the complex array of factors that contribute to people's decisions to end their lives, Dr. Staley said. He plans to release a report later this year describing interviews with the families of those who died by suicide in Utah over the last five years.

For children and adolescents who die by suicide, the team interviews not just parents and guardians, but also several close friends. In some cases, Dr. Staley recalled, friends knew about the deceased's struggles with sexuality, gender or drug use that the parents did not.

These conversations can be exceedingly difficult. John Blosnich, head of a research initiative called the L.G.B.T. Mortality Project at the University of Southern California, has done ride-alongs to observe and train death investigators on the importance of collecting data on gender and sexuality. His training also helps investigators navigate distress or stigma about the questions from the deceased's friends and relatives.



"Lacking in data, it is all too easy to dismiss us," said Casey Pick of the Trevor Project.

"They're talking with families who are in shock, who are infuriated, who at times are catatonic because of their loss," Dr. Blosnich said.

So far, Dr. Blosnich has trained investigators in Utah, Nevada, Colorado, New York and California, where a 2021 state law started a pilot program to collect data on sexual orientation and gender identity. In a recent study of 114 investigators in three states, Dr. Blosnich reported that only about 41 percent had directly asked about a deceased person's sexual orientation, and just 25 percent had asked about gender identity, before going through the training.

Medical examiners send reports of homicides and suicides to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, which maintains a database of violent deaths with extensive demographic, medical and social information, including toxicology tests, mental health diagnoses and even stories of financial and family hardships. But a study of more than 10,000 suicides among young adults reported to the C.D.C. database found that only 20 percent included information on the deceased's sexuality or gender identity.

Another agency in the health department, the Office of the National Coordinator for Health Information Technology, is trying to set new standards that would require any hospital that receives federal money to ask its patients about their sexuality and gender identity.

Death investigators are "limited by the fact that they can't ask the person the question," said Dr. John Auerbach, who worked on standardizing questions about sexuality and gender at the C.D.C. from 2021 to 2022. If doctors were routinely talking to their patients about sexuality and gender identity, that information could help answer other public health questions as well, such as those regarding the relative risk of cancer or diabetes in the L.G.B.T.Q. community, Dr. Auerbach said.

But that approach has its limits. Patients may not feel comfortable disclosing that information to their doctors. And those who don't interact with the health care system may be at especially high risk of suicide.

L.G.B.T.Q. advocates said that obtaining that data had become more urgent in the past couple of years, as states across the country have imposed restrictions on many aspects of life for gay and transgender people.

"Lacking in data, it is all too easy to dismiss us," said Casey Pick, director of law and policy at the Trevor Project, a nonprofit organization focused on suicide prevention among L.G.B.T.Q. young people that has lobbied at the state and federal levels to begin collecting that data.

"I have heard it too many times: Lawmakers and public witnesses in hearings suggest that the L.G.B.T.Q. community is crying wolf on suicide because we don't have this data to point to," Ms. Pick said.

It's also important to acknowledge the unknowns, Dr. Staley said. Although studies have reported a high rate of suicidal thoughts and suicide attempts among lesbian, gay and transgender people, that doesn't necessarily mean a high rate of suicides. He noted that although women have a higher rate of suicide attempts than men do, men have a much higher rate of dying by suicide, partly because they have more access to guns.

And Dr. Staley, who is gay, cautioned against political narratives that "normalize suicide as part of the queer experience."

"I would argue that if anything, this life experience sets us up to be resilient," he said. "Our fate is not sealed. Our story is not written."

KIM RAFF FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Michael Staley, of the Salt Lake City Medical Examiner's Office, conducts "psychological autopsies" after a suicide or an overdose.

If you are having thoughts of suicide, call or text 988 to reach the 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline or go to SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources for a list of additional resources.

2 From Oath Keepers Militia Are Sentenced for Seditious Conspiracy

By ZACH MONTAGUE and ALAN FEUER

Two Oath Keepers militia members convicted of seditious conspiracy were sentenced to several years in prison on Thursday for their roles in a violent plot to disrupt the transfer of presidential power on Jan. 6, 2021.

Sentences for the two members, Roberto Minuta and Edward Vallejo, were handed down at back-to-back hearings in Federal District Court in Washington. Mr. Minuta, a tattoo artist from New York and Texas, was given a sentence of four and a half years. Mr. Vallejo, a retired military veteran from Arizona, received a term of three years in prison, plus one year in home confinement.

The sentences came one week after the Oath Keepers leader, Stewart Rhodes, received an 18-year prison term for seditious conspiracy in a separate trial. Kelly Meggs, one of Mr. Rhodes's lieutenants, who was found guilty of the same offense, was sentenced to 12 years in prison.

Vallejo were found guilty of seditious conspiracy and other serious felonies at a trial with two other members of the Oath Keepers, Joseph Hackett and David Moerschel. Mr. Hackett and Mr. Moerschel are scheduled to be sentenced on Friday.

Judge Amit P. Mehta, who has presided over the Oath Keepers trials, determined that the sentences for Mr. Minuta and Mr. Vallejo should be increased slightly to reflect crimes considered acts of terrorism.

But the judge said the relatively light sentences, much lower than a few other individuals who were not charged with conspiracy in connection with the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol, were sufficient given the two men's minor roles in the organization.

Mr. Vallejo was not at the Capitol on Jan. 6, but had installed himself in a hotel room in Virginia, prosecutors said, where he helped oversee an arsenal of heavy weapons as part of what the Oath Keepers called a "quick reaction force." ber of the group, Terry Cummings, testified that the stash of weapons Mr. Vallejo was overseeing was the largest collection of guns he had seen in one place since his time in the military.

As the chaos erupted at the Capitol, prosecutors said, Mr. Vallejo sent messages to his fellow Oath Keepers breaching the building, reminding them that his armed force was "outfitted" and to "just say the word" to launch it into action with two trucks he had kept on standby.

An arsenal kept ready outside Washington on Jan. 6, 2021.

One day after the attack, he traveled into Washington to conduct surveillance and "probe the defense line" of law enforcement

"Jan. 6 was not enough for him, and that should chill the court," Louis Manzo, a prosecutor, said on Thursday. "He wanted more."

At times breaking into tears, Mr. Vallejo told Judge Mehta that his membership in the group had destroyed his life during his twilight years.

"I wish I never associated myself with Stewart Rhodes," he said.

Mr. Minuta, who was sentenced earlier in the day, also drew a sharp distinction between himself and Mr. Rhodes.

Prosecutors argued that Mr. Minuta was among a group of Oath Keepers who were serving as bodyguards on Jan. 6 for Roger J. Stone Jr., a longtime adviser to former President Donald J. Trump. But he and the others answered Mr. Rhodes's call to descend on the Capitol, racing around law enforcement on golf carts and forming a military-style "stack" while sporting tactical gear.

"I disavow the Oath Keepers as an organization; I was misled and pulsed by Mr. Rhodes's lack of remorse."

Mr. Minuta's lawyer, William Shipley, called Mr. Rhodes a "parasite" who marketed the group to politically disaffected people while using the Oath Keepers' activities to generate income. He described Mr. Minuta as a peripheral member with few connections in the group, and a "doctrinaire libertarian" who had gravitated toward Mr. Rhodes's charismatic personality in a moment of political anxiety and frustration with pandemic lockdowns.

At the hearing, Judge Mehta said Mr. Minuta's frequent public predictions of a looming civil war, in which he repeatedly expressed a willingness to die fighting, left little doubt that he came to Washington prepared for violence.

"Steeping yourself and cloaking yourself in this tradition of the founders and violent uprising and believing the Second Amendment allows individual citizens to gather up arms to battle their government?" Judge Mehta said.

Ex-Official In N. Carolina Is Biden Pick For the C.D.C.

By SHERYL GAY STOLBERG and APOORVA MANDAVILLI

WASHINGTON — President Biden plans to name Dr. Mandy Cohen, a former North Carolina health secretary who steered her state through the tumultuous first two years of the coronavirus pandemic, as the next director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, according to two people familiar with the selection process.

The selection of Dr. Cohen, which was first reported by The Washington Post, is not final. The White House is still putting together the necessary paperwork to make the appointment official, according to another person familiar with the selection process. But Dr. Cohen is the leading candidate, this person said.

The White House declined to comment. Dr. Cohen did not immediately respond to a request for comment.

If chosen by Mr. Biden, Dr. Cohen, an internist, would replace Dr. Rochelle P. Walensky, an infectious disease expert who announced last month that she would step down at the end of June. Dr. Walensky led the C.D.C. through difficult times; the agency had grown demoralized under President Donald J. Trump and drew fierce criticism under both Mr. Trump and Mr. Biden.

In North Carolina, Dr. Cohen served under Gov. Roy Cooper as secretary of the state's Department of Health and Human Services from 2017 to 2021. In that post, she established herself as a familiar and steady voice who maintained the public's trust despite deep political divisions, people who worked with her said.

Addressing graduating students at Guilford College in North Carolina last month, Dr. Cohen made trust the theme of her commencement speech. "Change happens at the pace of trust," she said, adding that while it was possible to motivate people to change their behavior by scaring them, "fear will only get you so far."

One point in Dr. Cohen's favor is that, unlike Dr. Walensky, she has previous experience in the federal government. Before becoming North Carolina's health secretary, she held several posts in the Obama administration, including serving as chief operating officer and chief of staff at the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services. Dr. Cohen is currently an executive at Aledade, a company that offers support to physicians and community health clinics.

Although Congress passed legislation last year requiring that the C.D.C. director be subject to Senate confirmation, the provision does not take effect until 2025, so Dr. Cohen could begin serving right away.

"Mandy Cohen used a steady hand to help my administration lead North Carolina through the pandemic to be among the states with the lowest deaths and job losses per capita," Mr. Cooper, a Democrat, said in a statement. "She is a brilliant, talented and battle-tested leader who would be a fantastic C.D.C. director."

Public health experts who know Dr. Cohen or have worked with her said her experience leading North Carolina's pandemic response and her years at federal agencies would be a tremendous asset for a C.D.C. director. The C.D.C. has repeatedly come under fire during the pandemic for its muddled messaging, but Dr. Cohen drew praise as a clear communicator.

"North Carolina is a purple state, which is relevant when, you know, we were in a public health emergency that was extremely politicized," said Dr. Neel Shah, the chief medical officer of Maven Clinic, a digital health care provider. He has known Dr. Cohen since they were both medical residents at Massachusetts General Hospital.

In the public health community, Dr. Cohen has a reputation for creating innovative programs, including a workaround to allow state governments to use Medicaid dollars to help low-income people with housing, food security and other needs that can affect their health.

"People talk about North Carolina with a measure of excitement in their voice," said Dr. Joshua M. Sharfstein, the vice dean for public health practice and community engagement at the Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, who worked closely with Dr. Cohen when he was Maryland's health secretary and she was a federal official.

"There's a lot of opportunity at the intersection of health care and public health, and C.D.C. has not really been able to take advantage of those opportunities," he said.

Sheryl Gay Stolberg reported from Washington, and Apoorva Man-

New York Mayor Loves a Good Tale. Some May Be Tall.

From Page A1

Since beginning his run for mayor in 2021, Mr. Adams has made an art form of telling stories about himself that are nearly impossible to verify, often adding fresh details to well-worn anecdotes.

Many of his stories seem intended for dramatic effect to help him connect to voters, rather than mislead them, as Representative George Santos did in misrepresenting his education, work history and background. But when Mr. Adams's tendency to hyperbole strays into policy, there are more serious implications.

In early May, the mayor twice claimed that New York City schoolchildren "start their day going to the corner bodega buying cannabis and fentanyl," despite there being little evidence of such a trend.

The mayor recently told reporters that nearly half of New York City's hotel rooms were occupied by migrants, suggesting that the influx of asylum seekers was hurting the tourism industry and taking rooms away from vacationers.

City Hall officials later walked back Mr. Adams's claim, explaining that the mayor had meant to say that migrants had taken up 40 percent of the occupancy in the city's midsize hotels. Hotel industry leaders said that migrants had not hurt tourism and that more than 20,000 rooms remained unoccupied.

Mr. Adams has also tried to put pressure on federal officials to help pay for what his administration is estimating will be $4.3 billion in migrant-related costs by next summer — even though the city's Independent Budget Office has said the price tag should actually be between $2.7 billion and $3.7 billion.

"At a time when the city is facing real crises, how can New Yorkers tell if the mayor is telling the truth when he keeps misleading them?" said Monica Klein, a Democratic political strategist and a deputy press secretary for former Mayor Bill de Blasio.

Part of the mayor's campaign strategy involved highlighting his working-class upbringing, underscoring the challenges he said he faced growing up in Queens and his understanding of the struggles that many New Yorkers face.

By the time he was 17, he has said, he had been a so-called squeegee man, a gang member and a victim of police brutality.

Mr. Adams's press secretary, Fabien Levy, questioned the fairness of suggesting that "memories from the mayor's youth and young adult life never happened without anything to substantiate these suggestions."

"In his 62 years on this planet, the mayor has experienced more than 32 million moments, the vast majority of which have not been documented by even the most zealous members of the New York City press corps," Mr. Levy said, apparently suggesting that Mr. Adams has, on average, had a moment for each minute of his life.

Even the mayor's foundational story — his arrest and subsequent beating by two police officers — has undergone revisions.

He had long said that he and his older brother entered the home of a prostitute to take money she owed them for running errands. By late 2021, in an interview with The Times, Mr. Adams had changed the occupation of the woman to "a go-go dancer who we were helping that broke her leg."

Kenneth Sherrill, a professor emeritus of political science at Hunter College in Manhattan, said that some of the mayor's exaggerations or dramatic anecdotes appeared to stem from his eagerness to connect with New Yorkers.

"Maybe I'm being too generous, but it's entirely possible that this is his way of saying, 'Listen, I understand where you're coming from — I've experienced things like this, too,'" he said. "And then comes the fable which has some basis in truth."

Indeed, in recent weeks, Mr. Adams has told worshipers that he received a divine message telling him to "talk about God, Eric." He spoke about the fake gold chains a block or so away from the former Spofford Juvenile Center in the Bronx, where Mr. Adams said he was held after his arrest.

And his window washing story came in the late stages of the 2021 mayoral race, when Mr. Adams was asked about the nuisance of squeegee men in Midtown Manhattan. He said that he understood their plight because when he was 17, he, too, washed car windows at street corners.

"I had a dirty rag with some Windex that I watered down, and used to stand at the corner of Jamaica Avenue washing windows so I could save up enough money to give my mother the money so we could have a meal to eat," Mr. Adams told reporters.

Anecdotes of challenges that stress working-class roots.

I. Daneek Miller, a former City Council member from Queens and a political ally of the mayor, said that part of Mr. Adams's allure was his ability to connect with ordinary New Yorkers, in part by relating shared experiences.

"You can't govern from an ivory tower, sending out memorandums saying, 'I want everyone to do this,' without them knowing why," Mr. Miller said. "You have to get buy-in."

On the rare occasion when the mayor is presented with evidence of a lie, he has clung to the "perfectly imperfect" defense.

When Mr. Adams, an evangelist for veganism who wrote a book about his diet, was confronted by reporters last year over witness accounts of him eating fish, he first sought to rebuff the queries, while his top aide denied the accusations. He finally acknowledged, "I am perfectly imperfect and have occasionally eaten fish."

He used that phrase again last week when he was asked about his story of selling gold chains.

"When I go through my journals that I've been keeping for a long time, I look at a whole lot of things that have not been told," he said. "All I can tell you is that you're looking at a perfectly imperfect mayor that has gone through a lot, and I'm qualified to help people who are going through a lot."

There have been other concessions. Mr. Adams said that he graduated from Bayside High School in 1978, but he actually graduated in January 1979, according to a copy of his high school transcript. Asked about the discrepancy, Mr. Adams acknowledged that he graduated late.

At a 2019 commencement address, Mr. Adams told a story about intimidating a neighbor whose dog was befouling his yard. He acknowledged to The Times in 2021 that the tale had been co-opted from another source. It was not that it didn't happen, he said; it just didn't happen to him.

There were also campaign questions about where Mr. Adams lived — a topic still somewhat unresolved. After concerns were raised about whether Mr. Adams actually lived in Fort Lee, N.J., he invited the news media into a property he owns in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn, hoping to prove that he lived there. But questions persisted: The Brooklyn apartment included non-vegan food and sneakers that appeared to belong to his son.

As for being an experienced skateboarder, Mr. Adams is sticking to his story.

On Tuesday, the mayor's office put out a statement insisting that Mr. Adams had skated as a child nearly a half-century ago, asserting that he had made his own skateboard with metal wheels and a piece of plywood.

There were no skate parks then, nor was there a World Skateboarding Federation, Mr. Levy, the mayor's press secretary, said. So Mr. Adams made simple ramps with cinder blocks and plywood. "It was called skate, fall and get your ass up," Mr. Levy said.

Jeffery C. Mays contributed reporting.

LANNA APISUKH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mayor Eric Adams mentioned at the Brooklyn Banks reopening that he had been a skateboarder and "knew how to do a few tricks."

Airbnb Sues New York City Over Limits On Rentals

By MIHIR ZAVERI

A yearslong conflict between Airbnb and New York City escalated on Thursday after the home-sharing platform sued the city to undo stringent new restrictions that limit short-term rentals.

A new law, passed by the city in 2021, sought to prevent illegal short-term rentals by requiring hosts to register with the city. Short-term rentals — for fewer than 30 consecutive days — have largely been barred if hosts are not present, according to state law, though the city and Airbnb have disagreed about how expansive such prohibitions and other complicated city codes should be.

The city said it would start enforcing the law in July.

In the lawsuit filed on Thursday, Airbnb called the new scheme "extreme and oppressive" and said it clashes with a federal law that has shielded many tech platforms from liability for content posted by its users. Three Airbnb hosts also filed similar lawsuits, arguing that the rules were so complicated that nearly all hosts, even those who intended to be present when guests were around, would be unable to use the platform.

The city said it was reviewing the lawsuit.

"This administration is committed to protecting safety and community livability for residents, preserving permanent housing stock, and ensuring our hospitality sector can continue to recover and thrive," Jonah Allon, a spokesman for the mayor, said in a statement.

The lawsuit pits tourism against the housing crisis.

New York City remains one of Airbnb's most important markets. The platform said in the lawsuit that its net revenue in 2022 from short-term rentals in the city was $85 million; and as of Jan. 1, there were at least 38,500 active listings.

The platform asserts it is important to the city's tourism industry and helps residents earn supplemental income.

But with the city facing a dire housing shortage, short-term rentals have become a frequent target for local activists and politicians, who say many of the listings amount to "illegal hotels" that take affordable homes off the market. Influential groups associated with the hotel industry have also fought Airbnb and similar platforms.

The lawsuit may also be another flashpoint in the debate around a federal law, Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, which has come under fire by some lawmakers who say it is too broad in the protections it provides technology companies. Airbnb said in the lawsuit that the city's rules improperly "seek to hold Airbnb liable in its role as a 'publisher' of posts by third parties" in violation of the law.

Online platforms like Airbnb must verify that a listing was properly registered with the city before collecting fees. Hosts could face penalties of up to $5,000 for violating the rules and Airbnb could face penalties of up to $1,500 for transactions involving rentals that were not properly verified.

New York City and Airbnb are familiar opponents.

Existing rules on when hosts can offer short-term rentals are regularly flouted, which has prompted complaints from city officials, housing advocates and the hotel industry, who say Airbnb has not done enough to clamp down on illicit rentals.

In 2018, Airbnb sued after New York City tried to force it and other platforms to share more data about hosts, resulting in a settlement in June 2020.

The conflict is emblematic of how many cities across the nation have sought to regulate similar online platforms. Many have turned to registration schemes similar to the one in New York City with apparent success: Data shows a modest to significant decrease in the number of listings after such a scheme went into effect in Santa Monica, Boston and San Francisco.

The city may fight back, or not.

Litigation in other places may foreshadow what happens in New York.

A legal challenge brought by Airbnb against Santa Monica over its registration scheme resulted in a settlement with the city in 2019. And this year, officials in Santa Monica have begun looking at expanding the ability of hosts to list rentals on the platform.

No day is complete without

Stony Brook to Get $500 Million, Thanks to Ex-Professor and Alumna

By LIAM STACK

Stony Brook University, a public school on Long Island, received a donation of $500 million on Thursday from a foundation formed by an alumnus and a former faculty member, making it the recipient of one of the largest gifts to a university in American history.

The donation, which will go toward the school's endowment, will also trigger another $200 million injection of public funds under a donation matching program passed as part of the New York State budget in April. The school said it hopes the gift will spur other donations that could amount to hundreds of millions of dollars.

Gifts of that size are rare for universities, and especially so for public institutions like Stony Brook, which is one of the flagship schools of the State University of New York. The donation plus the state matching funds amount to nearly twice the amount of Stony Brook's current endowment of $370 million, the university president, Maurie McInnis, said in an interview.

The donation was made by the Simons Foundation, which was formed in 1994 by Jim Simons, a former Stony Brook math professor who later made billions as a hedge fund manager, and his wife Marilyn Simons, who received her bachelor's degree and doctorate at Stony Brook.

The university has long been known as an engine of social mobility, enrolling students from poor and working class backgrounds and propelling many of them to the middle and upper classes of American life. But that role has been challenged in recent years by rising tuition costs at

One of the largest donations to a U.S. university in history.

try.

Ms. McInnis said more than 50 percent of Stony Brook students had their tuition fully covered by financial aid and state grants, but that many struggled with the ancillary costs of attending university.

"What our students struggle to going to college whether that is trying to afford room and board, or if they are commuters it can be commuting costs, it can be textbook costs," she said. "Investing in our students is one of the ways that we might expend this money in the future."

But the effects of the gift will not be immediate, she cautioned. Stony Brook will receive the full $500 million sum over the course of seven years. It will also aim to raise a further $200 million from other donors in the next three years to qualify for the maximum

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOHNNY MILANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The donation was made by the Simons Foundation, formed by Jim Simons, a former Stony Brook math professor who later made billions as a hedge fund manager, and his wife Marilyn Simons, who received her bachelor's and doctorate there.

Mr. and Mrs. Simons have made other large gifts to Stony Brook in the past that, when combined with the gift on Thursday, amount to roughly $1.2 billion, said Ms. McInnis. She said Mr. Simons joined the faculty in 1968, when the university was only five years old.

In an interview on Wednesday, Mr. and Mrs. Simons said the state's new endowment matching program convinced them to make a large unrestricted gift now. They also said the $500 million donation was an opportunity to express their gratitude to the university, which Mrs. Simons said "was transformative in my life."

She grew up in a working class household, graduated from the university in 1974, and went on to earn a Ph.D. in economics. She said she hoped the gift would help people from "underserved communities" to thrive at the school.

"I was really grateful when the attend Stony Brook for college," Mrs. Simons said. "I commuted to the school with my brother and my cousin. They went off to lay brick and I went to my calculus class."

Mr. Simons, who has appeared several times on Forbes ranking of the wealthiest people in the world, is a prominent mathematician in addition to his work as a hedge fund manager. He said he formulated one of his most widely-cited mathematical innovations, the Chern-Simons form, while teaching at the university.

That innovation, which he called "probably my best idea," has been used by physicists to contribute to the development of quantum field theory. He also met his wife during his time at the school.

"All of that was because I worked at Stony Brook," he said. "So I am very fond of the univer-

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Opinion

The New York Times

COLUMNIST | PAMELA PAUL

Political Correctness Used to Be Funny. Now It's No Joke.

LEVI BROWN/TRUNK ARCHIVE

BACK IN THE EARLY '90S it would have been hard to imagine a time would come when people would long for double denim, the glumness of grunge and Ethan Hawke's patchy "Reality Bites" facial hair. Yet more unfathomable: that there would be any affection for anything about that era's nascent political correctness with its penchant for words like "womyn" and other idealistic but often ill-conceived efforts to reimagine the dictionary.

And yet! In the wake of my 30th college reunion in May at Brown University, a notorious locus for politically correct thought back in the day, those emergent P.C. exactitudes feel almost cute in their relative innocuousness. At that time, word purification rituals were experienced all in good fun or, at least, in good fun-making. "Thatch," the most popular comic strip in The Brown Daily Herald, offered readers its absurdist antihero, Politically Correct Man — immediately amended to Politically Correct *Person* — because "the world needs someone to guide it through these role-changin', gender-conflictin', Berlin Wall-crumblin' times." (His archnemesis: Insensitive Man.)

Even at its peak, '90s-style political correctness was at least as much self-satire as it was a movement to be reckoned with. With the exception of its most earnest practitioners — strategically isolated within semiotics departments and grad school dormitories — undergrads from across the political spectrum considered political correctness a passing fad or an attempt at academic esotericism rather than an actual recommendation for how to comport yourself in public. You could commit acts of linguistic gymnastics (denouncing, say, "capitalist patriarchal hegemonic discourse") if the spirit moved you, but hardly anyone thought you had to.

Off campus, the culture seemed to agree. Carefree people of all ages walked around brashly declaring whatever mildly contrarian thing they were about to say as "obviously politically incorrect," strictly for giggles and without fear of harassment by the verbal police. Few would have bothered reporting an untoward term, in part because social media did not yet exist, in part because they were too busy coming up with their own un-P.C. retort.

In 1992, two Harvard Lampoon alums, Henry Beard and Christopher Cerf, published "The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook," which mixed together actual terms of P.C. orthodoxy with fictional ones in a way that left you unsure which was which. Real or fake: assimilationism, carbocentricism, chemically inconvenienced, heterosexually celibate, humyn, chair?

Thirty years later, on Amazon, a customer gave the book a worried one-star review, noting, "You'll get in more trouble using this book than you were before." These sensitivities are no longer a laughing matter. They are the stuff of moralizing retribution.

But back in benighted 1993, the year I graduated from college, we couldn't fathom such censoriousness. That was the year Comedy Central introduced the political talk show "Politically Incorrect," hosted by Bill Maher. Four years later, the show crossed over to network television — network television! — where ABC aired it until advertisers balked over comments Maher made about Sept. 11. The concern? Insufficient patriotism.

Expressing the opposite sentiment today — when merely referring to yourself as "American" is enough to be deemed "imperialist" — is what might get you in trouble.

People have clearly lost their sense of humor.

A world without making fun is a world with a lot less fun in it. It also misses out on the relief humor provides. The whole point of comedy is to poke us where it's most uncomfortable, to get us to laugh at our foibles and excesses, and the self-seriousness alone of contemporary political correctness practically begs for satire. Today we seem to mistake humorlessness for seriousness.

Audience members at comedy shows are now often required to check their mobile phones. Perhaps this is done to prevent illegal recordings, but it also avoids social media flare-ups over off-color jokes. This is surely wise. Idealistic early-'90s suggestions morphed first into judgmental guidelines and then into hard rules whose violations merit severe punishment. This leaves little room for playing with words, whether to elicit a chuckle or to make a deeper point.

What weak laughter is left? Nowadays, critics of P.C.'s pedantic excesses can be even more strident than its advocates. Making fun of political correctness (efforts *not* to offend) is one thing; telling outright offensive jokes (efforts *intended* to offend) is quite another. On right-wing outlets like Fox News and The Daily Caller, the tone is more rage and sneer than ridicule and smirk — they're attacking the enemy rather than recognizing their own foolishness.

Speech codes in the 1990s verged on self-satire.

On the other side of the political spectrum, some critics are pushing back against today's political correctness, but it is not a coincidence that sensitivities remain over who can mock what. "The Thanksgiving Play," a satire of performative white progressivism by the playwright Larissa Fasthorse, a member of the Sicangu Lakota Nation, had its premiere on Broadway in April after becoming one of the most widely produced plays in America. The play pokes fun at a group of four white people in all their smugness and concerned anxieties as they attempt to stage an uplifting school play about Native Americans that doesn't feature a single Native American.

Some signs indicate that when it comes to political correctness, fatigue may be setting in. In a 2020 Pew poll, 57 percent of Americans said people today are too easily offended by what others say. But the gap between those on the left and those on the right among those who think people should be careful to avoid offending others with their speech was a significant 42 percentage points, with most on the left favoring restraint.

In an angry and deeply polarized world, some people apparently mistake the ability to mock themselves with providing ammunition to the opposition. Human laughter is a great unifier, which may be another reason that the broader culture seems so strenuously eager to avoid it.

Even in the '90s you could sense the country's darkening mood as P.C. advocates became increasingly joyless in their messianic determination. In one "Thatch" strip, P.C. Person wields his latest "book-o'-dogma, 'How to Argue the P.C. Way,'" which he then smacks across Insensitive Man's head. "Chapter 1," P.C. Person explains: "If you don't like what someone has to say, don't let them say it!"

In the semi-serious preface to "The Official Politically Correct Guide and Handbook," the authors noted, "Language is not merely the mirror of our society; it is *the* major force in 'constructing' what we perceive as 'reality.'" A focus on words as they "should" be, they observed, meant avoiding the world as it is, and what the authors referred to as "distracting side issues" such as equal pay for equal work; eliminating unemployment, poverty and homelessness; improving education; and reining in the influence of money in electoral politics.

Yes, by calling these urgent concerns "distracting," they were being ironic. And yes, we have been effectively distracted. But not, alas, by comedy.

I Never Thought I'd Plead for the World to Send Soldiers to Haiti

Jean W. Pape
The founder and executive director of Les Centres GHESKIO in Port-au-Prince, Haiti.

AS AN infectious disease doctor working in Haiti for over 40 years, I have wrestled with countless tragedies. I have battled problems like H.I.V., tuberculosis, Covid-19, earthquakes, hurricanes and floods. Each time, our community of health care providers, police officers, humanitarian workers, government officials and citizens has pulled together and come up with a solution to steer Haitians to safety.

Today is different.

We now have around 200 gangs, armed with military-grade weapons, rampaging through our neighborhoods, killing, kidnapping and raping our citizens. Civilian casualties are at wartime levels. Volker Türk, the U.N. high commissioner for human rights, recently called our situation "a living hell."

We do not have a government. Our president, Jovenel Moïse, was assassinated almost two years ago, and not a single elected official remains in office. The army is poorly trained and equipped. Our police force of 9,000 is powerless, its members having become targets of gruesome gang violence or recruitment efforts. Some Haitians, desperate for change, are turning to retaliatory vigilante attacks against the armed groups.

Left unchecked, the escalating violence could push us into a civil war, and it has fallen to doctors, lawyers, business owners, farmers, students — all of our 11 million citizens — to find a solution.

Over the past several months, it has become clear to me that we can't do it alone. Haitians cannot overcome this crisis — the worst I have seen in my life — without foreign intervention.

I never thought that I would plead for the world to send in soldiers. I'm a doctor, not a politician or military tactician. We have a tragic record of foreign intervention in Haiti. In our history as an independent nation, Western powers made us pay a very high price for our freedom, resulting in systemic misery and poverty. But today I cannot see another solution.

I was born in Haiti and returned to practice medicine after completing my training at Weill Cornell Medical College in New York more than four decades ago. In the early 1980s, I diagnosed some of the world's first cases of H.I.V. Shortly after that, I

We do not have a government, and gangs rule the streets. We need international intervention.

Kaposi's Sarcoma and Opportunistic Infections, known as GHESKIO, with a group of other Haitian health professionals, before H.I.V. even had a name. Since then, our institution has been on the front lines of patient care in Haiti.

We have always had to work through periods of political instability, coups and natural disasters. The 2010 earthquake destroyed most of our clinic buildings and turned our downtown center into a refugee camp. But with the support of the local community and international partners, we put up tents, set up a field hospital and provided trauma care for thousands of patients. Never did we shut our doors or pause delivery of care for a day.

Now we face the possibility of closing. Over several weeks, we have been forced to halt our programs for days at a time to secure the release of kidnapped medical staff members. About one-third of our workers have fled the country in the past year to protect themselves and their families.

The entire medical system is on the brink of collapse. Hospitals' emergency services are inundated with a rising number of gunshot victims. Many of our health care partners with deeply committed teams, such as Doctors Without Borders , have suspended operations or ceased services entirely after attacks on aid workers and patients alike.

The gangs have burned houses and buildings, displacing at least 160,000 people. Gang control over major ports and roads has forced thousands of businesses and markets to close, ruining our economy and leaving half the population with limited access to food and facing the possibility of famine-like conditions. Many children can no longer attend school, and some are at risk of being killed by gangs or starvation. Cholera has resurged as a direct result of gang control of our nation's fuel terminals, which has left public services like garbage collection debilitated, sometimes for weeks.

We do not see a solution to our crisis without foreign intervention. We need experienced international forces to support and train our national police force and provide security as we work toward rebuilding our government. International investment in social programs is critical to provide young adults at risk of gang recruitment with sustainable employment alternatives.

It is also essential for the Biden administration to stop the illegal export of weapons from the United States to Haitian gangs — the principal source of the guns in Haiti. And we need the commitment of the world to help us get back on our feet to carry on with our health and humanitarian efforts.

Without this outside assistance, many more people will die. We are pleading for immediate action from the international community to help us. We cannot let Haiti burn in silence. Time is running out.

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FREDERICK BASS/GETTY IMAGES

COLUMNIST | DAVID BROOKS

Let's Smash the College Admissions Process

WITHIN DAYS OR WEEKS, the Supreme Court is going to render a decision on the future of affirmative action in higher ed. If things go as expected, conservatives will be cheering as these policies are struck down — and progressives will be wailing.

But maybe we can all take this moment to reimagine the college admissions process itself, which has morphed into one of the truly destructive institutions in American society.

The modern college admissions era was launched over half a century ago with the best of intentions — to turn finishing schools for the Protestant establishment into talent factories for all comers. But, in the end, the elite universities merely exchanged one privileged elite for another. Today, you don't need bloodlines stretching back to the Mayflower to have a decent shot at getting into an elite school, but you do need to be born into a family with the resources to make lavish investments in your early education.

In 2017 research led by Raj Chetty found that students from families in the top 1 percent of earners were 77 times as likely to get admitted into the Ivy League than students from families making less than $30,000 a year. In that same year, students from the top income quintile were 16 times more numerous at the University of North Carolina, a state school, than students from the bottom quintile.

We now have whole industries that take attendance at an elite school as a marker of whether they should hire you or not. So the hierarchies built by the admissions committees get replicated across society. America has become a nation in which the elite educated few marry each other, send their kids to the same exclusive schools, move to the same wealthy neighborhoods and pass down disproportionate economic and cultural power from generation to generation — the meritocratic Brahmin class.

And, as Michael Sandel of Harvard has argued, the meritocratic culture gives the "winners" the illusion that this sorting mechanism is righteous and inevitable and that they've earned everything they've got.

And then we sit around wondering why Trumpian populists revolt.

Worse, this system is built on a definition of "merit" that is utterly bonkers. In what sane world do we sort people — often for life — based on their ability to be teacher-pleasers from ages 15 to 18?

In 2018, the organizational psychologist Adam Grant wrote a powerful essay for The Times making the point that "academic excellence is not a strong predictor of career excellence. Across industries, research shows that the correlation between grades and job performance is modest in the first year after college and trivial within a handful of years."

We could have chosen to sort people on the basis of creativity, generosity or resilience. We could have chosen to promote students who are passionate about one subject but lag in the other subjects (which is how real-life success works). But instead we created this academic pressure cooker that further disadvantages people from the wrong kind of families and leaves even the straight-A winners stressed, depressed and burned out.

If affirmative action goes, bigger changes are necessary.

For the past few decades, Richard D. Kahlenberg, the author of "The Remedy: Class, Race and Affirmative Action," has been arguing that we should replace the race-based system of affirmative action with a class-based system.

His proposal, to give preference to applicants from economically disadvantaged families, would address a core inequality in society. As Kahlenberg wrote in The Economist in 2018, social science research "finds that today, being economically disadvantaged in America poses seven times as large an obstacle to high student achievement as does race."

Furthermore, he continues, if you structure the programs well, you can lift up the poor and middle class while simultaneously redressing the iniquities that have historically been visited upon African Americans. Writing in Dissent this year, Kahlenberg, an expert witness for the plaintiffs in the case seeking to overturn affirmative action, describes an exercise he did with the Duke economist Peter Arcidiacono. Based on data from Harvard and the University of North Carolina, they built an admissions model that would end racial preferences and preferences for the children of faculty members and alumni, but boost applicants from poor families and disadvantaged neighborhoods.

At Harvard, under this model, the share of African American, Hispanic and other underrepresented minority students would rise, and the share of first-generation students would more than triple.

The case for Kahlenberg's proposal gets stronger every year. If the Supreme Court ditches racial preferences it becomes overwhelming.

Maybe this could be a moment when we finally step back and acknowledge that the elite meritocracy has spiraled out of control. It's ridiculous that we have built a culture in which people make fine status distinctions among Princeton, Northwestern and Penn State as if they were 18th-century courtiers arguing over which aristocratic family had the grandest name.

It's ridiculous that we've built a system that overvalues the sort of technocratic skills these universities cultivate and undervalues the social and moral skills that any healthy society should value more.

It's sad that we've spent decades trying to build a more representative leadership class, but we've ended up with an educated elite that doesn't know much about the rest of America and doesn't seem notably more competent than the elites that preceded it.

If SCOTUS rips off the affirmative-action Band-Aid, maybe we can address the underlying wounds.

COLUMNIST | PAUL KRUGMAN

The Case of the Disappearing Debt Disaster

JUST A FEW days ago it looked as if G.O.P. extremism might set off a global financial crisis. The U.S. debt ceiling — which allows Congress to determine spending and revenue, then refuse to permit borrowing to cover the difference — seemed to give Republicans, who control the House, access to a financial doomsday machine: By refusing to raise the debt limit they could provoke a U.S. default that, given the key role played by U.S. debt in the world financial system, could have been catastrophic.

That doomsday machine, in turn, seemed to give Republicans far more power than a party narrowly controlling one house of Congress should possess. Would they use that power to demolish President Biden's accomplishments?

In fact, they barely scratched Biden's paint. And the mystery is why.

Like many — I think most — observers, I didn't see this coming. In the spring Republicans seemed to be converging on demands for harsh spending cuts, especially to Medicaid. The Biden administration was counting on self-proclaimed centrists and business groups to lean on Republicans to back off; they didn't. And publicly at least, Biden officials repeatedly rejected all possible end runs around the debt ceiling. Republicans seemed to be in a strong bargaining position.

Yet in the end we got some spending caps that would probably have happened even without the attempt to take the economy hostage, since "discretionary" spending would have had to pass the House in any case. We got an extension of work requirements in the food stamp program for Americans in their 50s, which will cause some loss of coverage — not because they refuse to work, but because they'll be stymied by extra red tape.

And we got a side agreement to cut $20 billion from the $80 billion in additional funding for the I.R.S. that was included in lion was for a decade. In practice, efforts to crack down on wealthy tax evaders will probably be little changed in the next few years, and the I.R.S. will simply come back for more money later.

Overall, the administration made hardly any major concessions; this debt standoff ended up being far less consequential than the debt ceiling crisis of 2011.

So how did Biden, whom right-wingers constantly deride as senile and incompetent despite a series of remarkable legislative achievements, pull this off?

Eventually we may get a blow-by-blow account of how the debt negotiations went down. Until then, it's worth noting several broader trends in the political environment that probably strengthened Biden's hand.

One clue: Republicans don't really care about the budget deficit or policy.

First, Democrats are no longer intimidated by deficit scolds. Back in 2011, the Obama administration seemed eager to win approval from a Beltway establishment dominated by Very Serious People who insisted that debt and deficits — as opposed to, say, persistent high unemployment — were the most crucial issue facing the nation. President Barack Obama came very close to agreeing to a bargain that would have raised the age of Medicare eligibility.

These days Democrats don't seem to care much about the deficit scolds; they'll probably care even less given the craven behavior of prominent groups during the debt confrontation.

Second, Republicans don't actually care about the budget deficit. Arguably they never did, but for a long time much of the media and the political establishment took their fiscal posturing at face value. These days their true lack of concern is out in the open, so it's hard to find a commentator who seriously believes that a party seeking to prevent a crackdown on tax evasion cares about debt.

Third, the Republican Party has largely backed off on its push to drastically shrink government. We've come a long way from 2005, when President George W. Bush tried to privatize Social Security. These days even hard-right budget proposals tend to exempt Social Security and Medicare, and I believe that Republicans are beginning to realize that Medicaid has also become an extremely popular program.

Coming next: The realization that even white, rural, very MAGA areas like, say, Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District have become deeply dependent on food stamps.

Indeed, it's hard to avoid the sense that the G.O.P. has, in general, lost interest in fiscal policy. Apparatchiks at right-wing think tanks still inveigh against the evils of big government, and the donor class is as opposed as ever to paying taxes. But all the real passion on the right now seems to revolve around social issues like ending abortion rights and expunging any mention of racism from history classes.

In a way it's kind of funny. Critics of Democratic politics used to berate activists for focusing on social issues while allowing Republicans to dictate the economic agenda. Now Republicans are waging war on the Disney corporation while the Biden administration establishes large-scale industrial policy to fight climate change.

So what happened on the debt negotiations? Maybe it came down to this: Kevin McCarthy wasn't willing to blow up the economy to extract policy concessions because he's the leader of a party that no long-

LETTERS

Are the Warnings About A.I. Overblown?

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "A.I. Poses 'Risk of Extinction,' Tech Leaders Warn" (front page, May 31):

I read with great interest your article about the potential existential threat of artificial intelligence. Clearly, much anxiety exists concerning the recent, and rapid, developments in so-called large language models, such as that used in ChatGPT. I acknowledge the viewpoints of the very prominent people mentioned in the article.

However, we at the Silicon Valley Laboratory have an unpopular belief that artificial intelligence is fast approaching a limit on how well it can perform higher-order cognitive functions such as creativity.

Specifically, we do not believe that with current approaches, computers can truly be creative in any domain — be it art, music, science, business, mathematics or any field requiring novel thoughts of a human. We believe that A.I. machines have hit an "imitation barrier."

Applications such as ChatGPT do generate responses to questions, but the results are merely reconfigurations of data and prior knowledge loaded by humans.

Computer programs do exist for creating paintings in the style of past artists. But these artifacts are imitations, not creations. The "aha moment" is missing.

ROWLAND CHEN
SAN JOSE, CALIF.

The writer is the C.E.O. of the Silicon Valley Laboratory.

TO THE EDITOR:

From the very people who are racing to produce the most powerful artificial intelligence technology imaginable comes this bleak and truly scary warning: Like nuclear weapons, A.I. systems have the potential to threaten humanity with "the risk of extinction." And much sooner than most people realize.

What exactly are we supposed to do with this information? It's as though Icarus were telling the world, "Don't forget to wear plenty of sunscreen."

NANCY STARK, NEW YORK

TO THE EDITOR:

Regulation of A.I. by the U.S. or any imaginable consortium of nations will have absolutely zero net positive effect for society. Bad actors — including not only China, Russia and terrorists, but also purveyors of misinformation and disinformation — will not be dissuaded by unenforceable rules.

The real beneficiaries of regulation of A.I. will be the signers of the statement warning of the risks of A.I., who will undoubtedly have a heavy hand in drafting regulations that shield their companies from legal liabilities and competition.

PAUL S. WILSON, NEW ORLEANS

TO THE EDITOR:

As a physician forced to use an electronic medical record constantly, I experience at least 10 major daily disruptions for every one convenience that the technology provides. A.I. will have the same level of unreliability, but with far more danger.

There were compelling reasons to develop nuclear weapons during World World II, and yet many scientists and politicians involved in the project regretted their work. Given that there is less need for A.I. and, by its creators' admission, at least as much danger as nukes, why continue the work at all? Why not stop before it's too late?

A.I. will never be reliable, just like every other computer created to date. Why should we believe that any protections we implement will be more successful?

A wise, fictional computer from the classic 1983 movie "WarGames" once said, "The only winning move is not to play."

BRIAN BROKER, PHILADELPHIA

TO THE EDITOR:

Artificial intelligence has a hole one could drive a freight train through. For all its flash and bang and awesome abilities, it is unable to discern the difference between truth and fiction. That, my friends, is the job of human beings, and will, in all probability, be forever so.

A.I. dazzles, but should never be trusted to produce reliable and factually correct results unless the parameters are strictly laid out by people using it before it is set in motion.

JOHN ZEIGLER
GEORGETOWN, TEXAS

TO THE EDITOR:

The fear that large language models will become so "smart" they may threaten human existence is clearly overblown. Our fear should not be that they will become *too* smart, but rather that, by doing our writing for us, they will make us *less* smart.

STEPHEN POLIT
BELMONT, MASS.

TO THE EDITOR:

The ongoing discussion regarding the potential threat that A.I. poses leaves out one important advantage that humans have over technology.

A person can walk over to the wall and remove the power cord from the outlet.

ERIC SCHROEDER
BETHESDA, MD.

When a Public Bathroom Produces Anxiety

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Bathrooms Are Where People Are Most Vulnerable," by Lydia Polgreen (column, May 21):

Thank you to Ms. Polgreen for her brilliant piece. I am a cisgender woman who is more to the masculine than the feminine side, and every — and I do mean *every* — visit to a public restroom is a tremendous source of anxiety.

The funny looks, the double takes as women coming into the bathroom check the sign to be sure they're going into the right door, my own efforts to try to soften my self-presentation — like everyone else, I just need to "ease myself," to quote a Nigerian toilet euphemism that Ms. Polgreen cites.

Yet nothing about those visits is easy. Add the Republican hysteria to the mix, and a simple visit that so many take for granted becomes even more anxiety-producing.

Unless you have lived this, you probably don't care. But I appreciate Ms. Polgreen's giving voice to an experience that I thought was uniquely mine.

Butch women, it's time to unite for the right to rest in the restroom!

CYNTHIA ROBINS
COCHRANVILLE, PA.

TO THE EDITOR:

Every time I open the door of a restroom with a unisex sign, ubiquitous in this region, I relish the image of horror and discomfort on the faces of those unsuspecting visitors who may be unwilling to "ease" themselves rather than accept an increasingly common gender-neutral social norm.

DIANNE SELDITCH
NORWALK, CONN.

TO THE EDITOR:

I'm a straight woman. Until sports and entertainment venues build more bathrooms for women, I will continue to use the men's bathroom versus standing in a very long line with crossed legs. Really, people, it's just a toilet.

APRIL BENNETT STONE

'Immoral' Conditions

TO THE EDITOR:

"'Blue Wall' Inside State Prisons Protects Abusive Guards" (news article, May 28) describes, in graphic detail, the unlawful harms that incarcerated persons suffer in New York State prisons.

Guards in the "cover-up culture" described protect one another from accountability for injuring and sometimes killing inmates. Legal remedies often fail because prisoners know that if they report abuse, they will suffer the guards' retaliation.

The horrendous punishment of solitary confinement is handed out at the whim of correctional officers, who regularly make up charges against prisoners and then function as judge, jury and executioner, all under the cover of our criminal justice system.

This situation is immoral and untenable. It merits a grand jury investigation.

MARY CLARK MOSCHELLA
GUILFORD, CONN.

The writer is a professor of pas-

The New York Times

Sharpen employee perspective.
Empower forward thinking.

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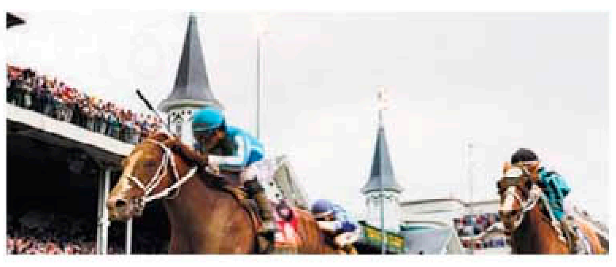
nytimes.com/companywide

3 **CULTURE WAR**
Conservatives are accusing Chick-fil-A, once a darling of the political right, of going 'woke' with its equity policy.

5 **LEGAL**
A judge dismissed a lawsuit by the District of Columbia that accused Meta of improperly sharing user data.



7 **SPORTS**
A spate of deaths has led Churchill Downs to make policy changes to keep unsound horses from racing.

TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

Business

The New York Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 2023 B1

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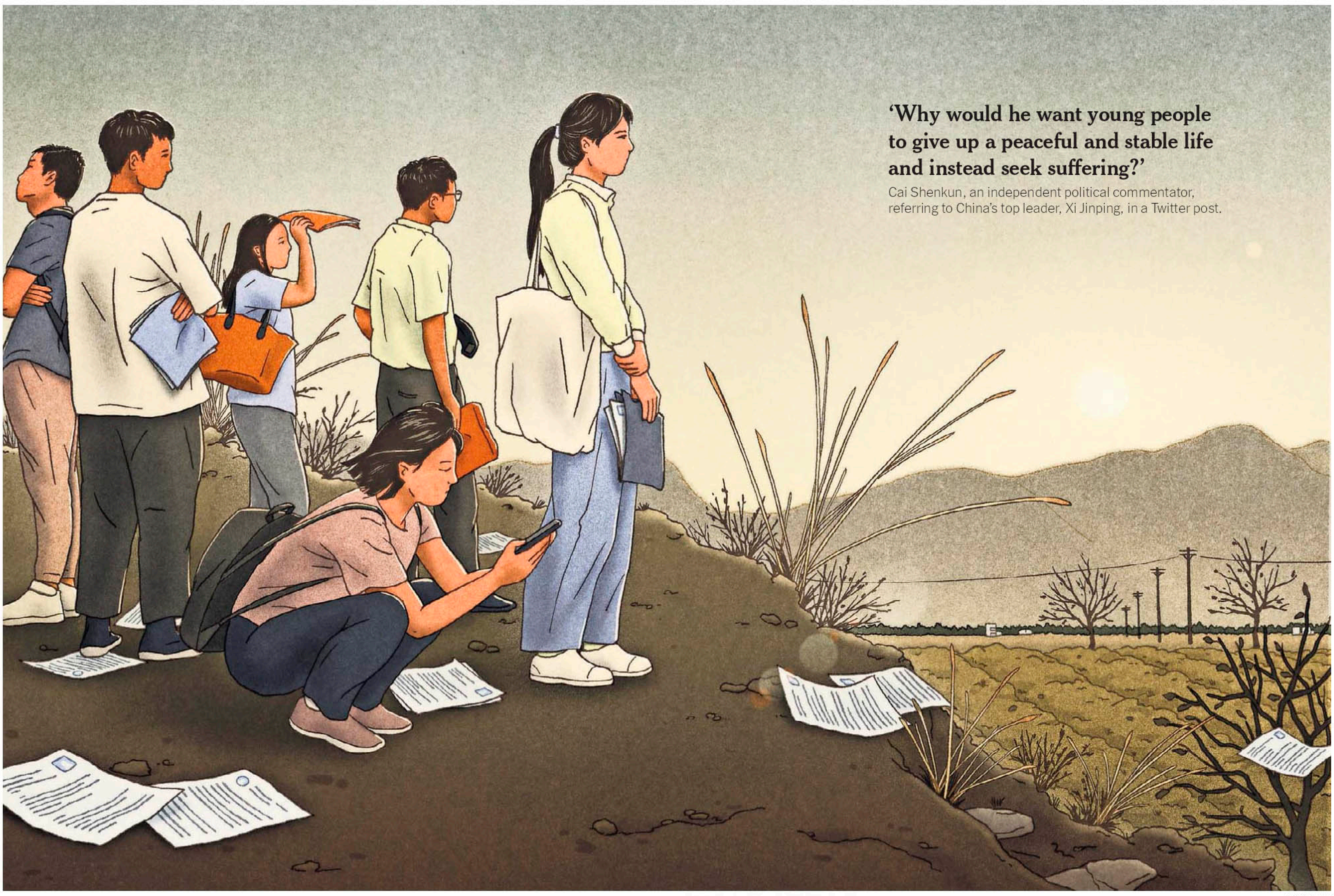


'Why would he want young people to give up a peaceful and stable life and instead seek suffering?'
Cai Shenkun, an independent political commentator, referring to China's top leader, Xi Jinping, in a Twitter post.

XINMEI LIU

China's Grads Struggle to Find Work. Xi Shrugs.

Li Yuan
THE NEW NEW WORLD

'Eat Bitterness': Communist Party tries to reset expectations about social mobility by talking up the virtue of hardship.

Gloria Li is desperate to find a job. Graduating in June with a master's degree in graphic design, she started looking last fall, hoping to find an entry-level position that pays about $1,000 a month in a big city in central China. The few offers she has gotten are internships that pay $200 to $300 a month, with no benefits.

Over two days in May she messaged more than 200 recruiters and sent her résumé to 32 companies — and lined up exactly two interviews. She said she would take any offer, including sales, which she was reluctant to consider previously.

"A decade or so ago, China was thriving and full of opportunities," she said in a phone interview. "Now even if I want to strive for opportunities, I don't know which direction I should turn to."

China's young people are facing record-high unemployment as the country's recovery from the pandemic is fluttering. They're struggling professionally and emotionally. Yet the Communist Party and the country's top leader, Xi Jinping, are telling them to stop thinking they are above doing manual work or moving to the countryside. They should learn to "eat bitterness," Mr. Xi instructed, using a colloquial expression that means to endure hardships.

Many young Chinese aren't buying it. They argue that they studied hard to get a college or graduate school degree only to find a shrinking job market, falling pay scale and longer work hours. Now the government is telling them to put up with hardships. But for what?

"Asking us to eat bitterness is like a deception, a way of hoping that we will unconditionally dedicate ourselves and undertake tasks that they themselves are unwilling to do," Ms. Li said.

People like Ms. Li were lectured by their parents and teachers about the virtues of hardship. Now they are hearing it from the head of state.

"The countless instances of success

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

Large Commercial Jet Is a Milestone for China

By NIRAJ CHOKSHI and TIFFANY MAY

Millions of flights take off and land in China every year, almost all of them using planes made by Boeing and Airbus, the world's two leading aircraft manufacturers. For years, China has been working to change that, and this week it celebrated a milestone in that quest: the first commercial flight of a large passenger jet made in China.

The C919 jet, made by COMAC, a Chinese state-run aerospace manufacturer, flew about 130 passengers from Shanghai to Beijing for China Eastern Airlines on Sunday, according to Chinese state media. It is currently the only C919 plane being used for commercial flights.

COMAC, or the Commercial Aircraft Corporation of China, was established in 2008. Based in Shanghai, it is closely linked to AVIC, the Aviation Industry Corporation of China, which makes the country's turboprops, fighter jets and bombers. The C919 is a narrow-body plane comparable to the Boeing 737 and Airbus A320.

Aviation experts said China faced stiff competition from the entrenched rivalry of U.S.-based

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The C919 jet, China's first domestically produced passenger plane, flew from Shanghai to Beijing on Sunday.

What to Do If You Have Student Bills

Tara Siegel Bernard
YOUR MONEY

After a three-year break, student loan payments are about to come due again.

The payment pause on federal loans has been extended eight times since March 2020 as part of a pandemic relief measure.

This time, however, the big restart has been written into legislation: As part of the agreement between President Biden and Speaker Kevin McCarthy to raise the debt ceiling, the pause button would be released "60 days after June 30," or around Sept. 1. That isn't much different from the timeline that Mr. Biden previously laid out, but codifying it may give him less leeway to extend the pause yet again.

The payment break has provided relief for roughly 27 million borrowers and another seven million in default, who received a

CONTINUED ON PAGE B5

Justices Rule Law Doesn't Shield Union

By NOAM SCHEIBER

The Supreme Court ruled on Thursday that federal labor law did not protect a union from potential liability for damage that arose during a strike, and that a state court should resolve questions of liability.

The majority found that if accusations by an employer are true, actions during a strike by a local Teamsters union were not even arguably protected by federal law because the union took "affirmative steps to endanger" the employer's property "rather than reasonable precautions to mitigate that risk." It asked the state court to decide the merits of the accusations.

The opinion, written by Justice Amy Coney Barrett, was joined by Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. and Justices Sonia Sotomayor, Elena Kagan and Brett M. Kavanaugh.

Three conservative justices backed more sweeping concurring opinions. A single justice, Ke-

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

The Digest

AIRLINES

JetBlue Strikes Deal To Ease Spirit Purchase

JetBlue Airways said Thursday it has agreed to sell Spirit Airlines' holdings at La Guardia Airport in New York to Frontier Airlines if it succeeds in buying Spirit.

The announcement seemed designed to persuade regulators to approve JetBlue's proposed $3.8 billion takeover of Spirit. The Justice Department and several states have sued to block the deal, arguing that it would reduce competition and drive up fares by eliminating the low-fare Spirit.

Spirit's holdings at La Guardia include six gates at the Marine Air Terminal and the rights to 22 daily takeoff and landing times or "slots." Because of congestion in the New York area, slots are limited at La Guardia and John F. Kennedy International Airport, making them particularly valuable to airlines like Frontier that hope to grow in the New York market. Financial terms were not disclosed.

A trial in the government's lawsuit against the JetBlue-Spirit sale is scheduled for October in Boston. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

RETAIL

Challenging Environment Hurts Dollar General

CAROLYN THOMPSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Dollar General shares plunged more than 19 percent on Thursday after the discount store chain cut its sales and profit forecasts for the year as Americans, pinched by higher prices, shopped more for essentials and pared back purchases in categories including home goods and clothes.

The chain said traffic declined during the quarter as its low- to mid-income customer base cut back on purchases of seasonal goods, clothing and housewares, a challenging trend across retailers.

Low-cost retailers like Dollar General face stiff competition from bigger retailers like Walmart in the grocery and food business. The Edward Jones analyst Brian Yarbrough said shoppers were likely making trips to Walmart to refill their household staples, with fewer trips to Dollar General.

Dollar General now expects fiscal 2023 same-store sales to rise between 1 percent and 2 percent, instead of an increase of 3 percent to 3.5 percent. *REUTERS*

ENERGY

Fuel Costs and Solar Buoy Renewable Energy

The world is set to add a record amount of renewable electricity capacity this year as governments and consumers seek to offset high energy prices and take advantage of a boom in solar power, a report said Thursday.

The International Energy Agency said high fossil fuel prices, resulting from Russia's attack on Ukraine, and concerns about energy security had boosted the rollout of solar and wind power installations, which are expected to reach 440 gigawatts in 2023.

That's about a third more than the world added the previous year, taking the global installed capacity to 4,500 GW, roughly the total power output of the United States and China, the agency said.

Construction of new wind farms is predicted to rebound after a period of low growth. However, in contrast to solar manufacturing, the supply chains for wind turbines aren't growing fast enough to meet demand, the agency said. *ASSOCIATED PRESS*

S&P 500 INDEX
+1.0%
4,221.02

DOW JONES INDUSTRIALS
+0.5%
33,061.57

NASDAQ COMPOSITE INDEX
+1.3%
13,100.98

10-YEAR TREASURY YIELD
3.61%
−0.028 points

CRUDE OIL (U.S.)
$70.10
+$2.01

GOLD (N.Y.)
$1,995.50
+$13.40

Wall Street Rises on Hopes of Fed Inaction

By The Associated Press

Wall Street rose Thursday with hopes that the Federal Reserve may soon take it easier on its increases to interest rates.

The S&P 500 rallied 1 percent after a suite of reports painted a picture of a split U.S. economy.

STOCKS & BONDS

The job market remains solid, but manufacturing is weakening and retailers are seeing shoppers under pressure. Altogether, investors saw the data pushing the Fed toward not raising rates at its meeting in two weeks, which would be the first time that has happened in more than a year.

The Dow Jones industrial average gained 153 points, or 0.5 percent, while the Nasdaq composite led the market with a 1.3 percent jump.

One positive for the market came late Wednesday when the House of Representatives approved a deal to prevent a possibly catastrophic default on the U.S. government's debt. But that was what Wall Street expected, and only a trip-up for the deal before it gets signed by President Biden would likely cause big waves for stocks.

Investors are more concerned about whether the economy will fall into a recession before inflation recedes enough to convince the Federal Reserve to take it easier on interest rates.

Reports Thursday gave a mixed view. One said that fewer workers applied for unemployment benefits last week than expected, while another suggested employers increased their payrolls in May by more than forecast.

That's good news for workers and the overall economy, which has been slowing because of higher interest rates. But a strong job market could keep pressure up on inflation, pushing the Fed to keep rates high.

On the flip side, manufacturing is continuing to get hit hard. A report from the Institute for Supply Management said manufacturing shrank for a seventh straight month in May.

Following the reports, traders were largely betting on the Fed to hold rates steady at its next meeting in two weeks. That's something a Fed official a day earlier hinted may happen, though the Fed governor Philip Jefferson also said that wouldn't necessarily mean the end to increases.

After that, traders are split on whether the Fed will follow up with another increase to rates at its next meeting in July. That's key because high rates work to lower inflation by slowing the economy, which hurt prices for stocks and other investments.

Tech and other high-growth stocks tend to get hit hardest by higher rates, and hopes for a pause to increases had several Big Tech companies leading the way on Wall Street. Apple, Microsoft and Amazon all rose at least 1.3 percent. Their movements carry extra weight on the S&P 500 because they're some of the most valuable on Wall Street.

For as much as Wall Street hopes the end to rate increases is near, it may be getting ahead of itself, said JJ Kinahan, chief executive of IG North America.

"The market's been like a spoiled child," he said. "Every six weeks, it stamps its feet and says, 'Not this time!' And every time, Powell says, 'We're going to continue to do this,' and the market says, 'I can't believe they did this.'"

So far, the economy has held up despite a long list of worries because of a still-strong job market and resilient spending by consumers. But reports from several retailers suggested shoppers are feeling more pressure.

Dollar General dropped 19.5 percent after it reported weaker profit and revenue for the latest quarter than analysts expected. It said the economic environment has been more challenging than it expected, and it cut its financial forecasts for the full year.

The yield on the 10-year Treasury, which helps set rates for mortgages and other loans that influence the economy's strength, fell to 3.59 percent. The two-year Treasury yield, which moves more on expectations for the Fed, fell to 4.32 percent.

The S&P 500 Index

Position of the S&P 500 index at 1-minute intervals on Thursday

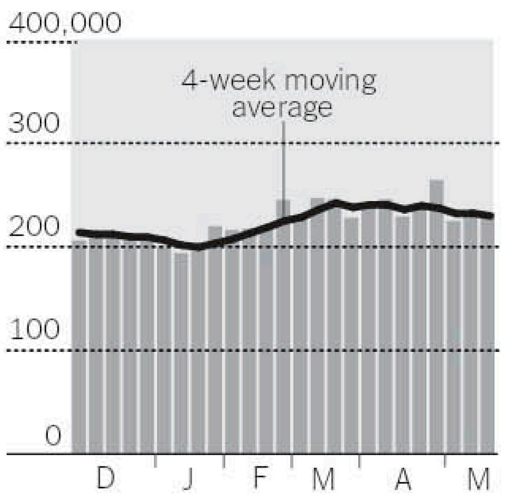
-- Previous Close: 4,179.83

Source: FactSet

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Jobless Claims

Weekly number of people who have filed for unemployment benefits for the first time.



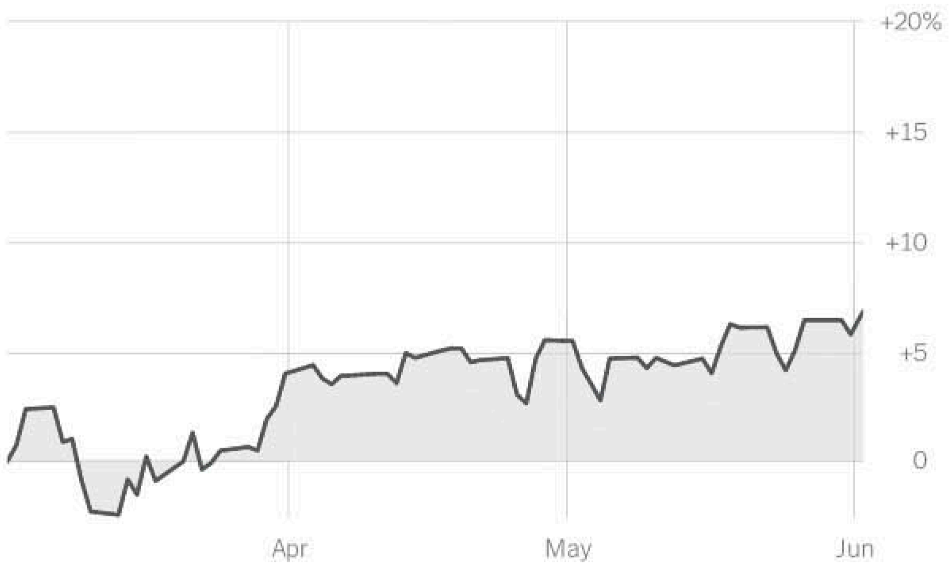
Source: Labor Department

THE NEW YORK TIMES

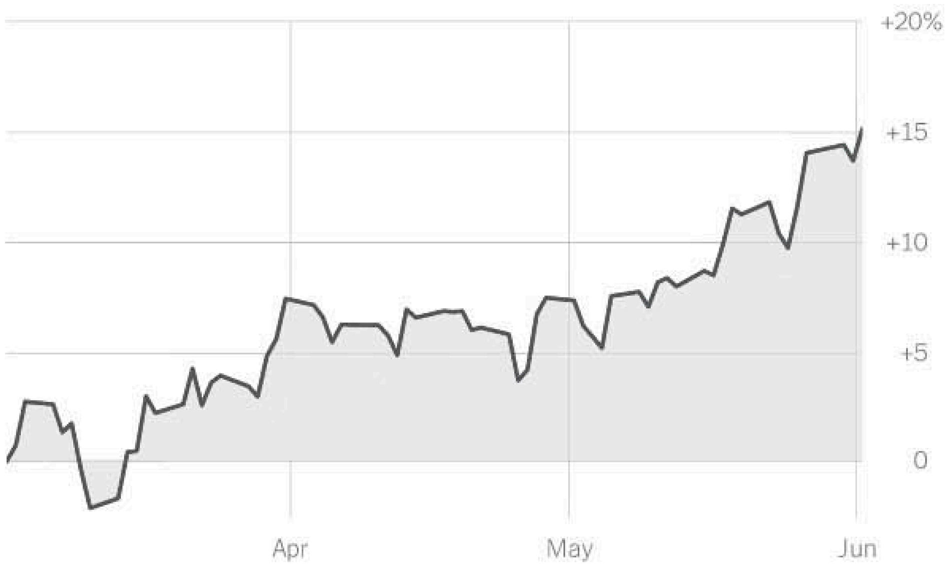
What Happened in Stock Markets Yesterday

POWERED BY FACTSET

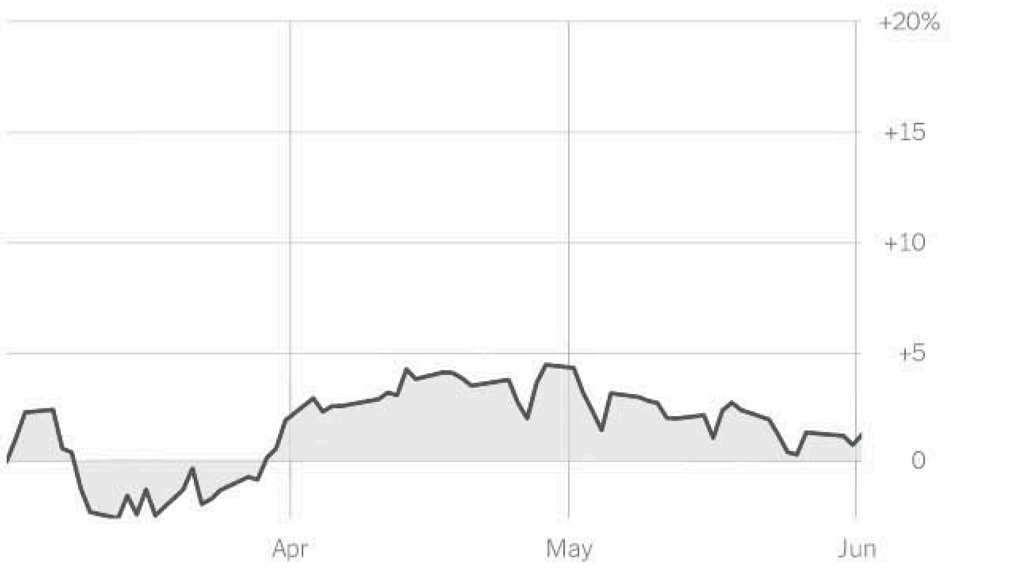
S&P 500 4,221.02 ↑ +1.0%
3 month performance: **+6.8%**



Nasdaq Composite Index 13,100.98 ↑ +1.3%
3 month performance: **+15.1%**



Dow Jones Industrials 33,061.57 ↑ +0.5%
3 month performance: **+1.2%**



Best performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Match Group (MTCH)	$38.02	+10.2%
2. NetApp (NTAP)	$71.96	+8.5
3. Constellation Energy (CEG)	$88.88	+5.8
4. Comerica (CMA)	$38.18	+5.8
5. Carnival (CCL)	$11.85	+5.5
6. ON Semiconductor (ON)	$87.95	+5.2
7. Align Technology (ALGN)	$297.20	+5.1
8. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$397.70	+5.1
9. Hormel Foods (HRL)	$40.20	+5.1
10. Schlumberger (SLB)	$44.98	+5.0

Worst performers

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE
1. Dollar General (DG)	$161.86	−19.5%
2. Advance Auto Parts (AAP)	$68.03	−6.7
3. Salesforce (CRM)	$212.90	−4.7
4. NRG Energy (NRG)	$32.40	−4.1
5. Dollar Tree (DLTR)	$129.56	−3.9
6. AbbVie (ABBV)	$133.44	−3.3
7. Amgen (AMGN)	$214.27	−2.9
8. Atmos Energy (ATO)	$112.07	−2.8
9. Xcel Energy (XEL)	$63.55	−2.7
10. Ross Stores (ROST)	$100.90	−2.6

Most active

S&P 500 COMPANIES	CLOSE	CHANGE	VOLUME IN MIL.
1. Tesla (TSLA)	$207.52	+1.8%	147
2. Apple (AAPL)	$180.09	+1.6	65
3. Advanced Micro Devices (AMD)	$119.47	+1.1	65
4. Ford Motor (F)	$12.11	+0.9	64
5. NVIDIA (NVDA)	$397.70	+5.1	62
6. Bank of America (BAC)	$27.78	+0.8	57
7. Amazon.com (AMZN)	$122.77	+1.8	54
8. Intel Corp (INTC)	$31.13	−1.0	53
9. Carnival (CCL)	$11.85	+5.5	40
10. AT&T Inc. (T)	$15.81	+0.5	31

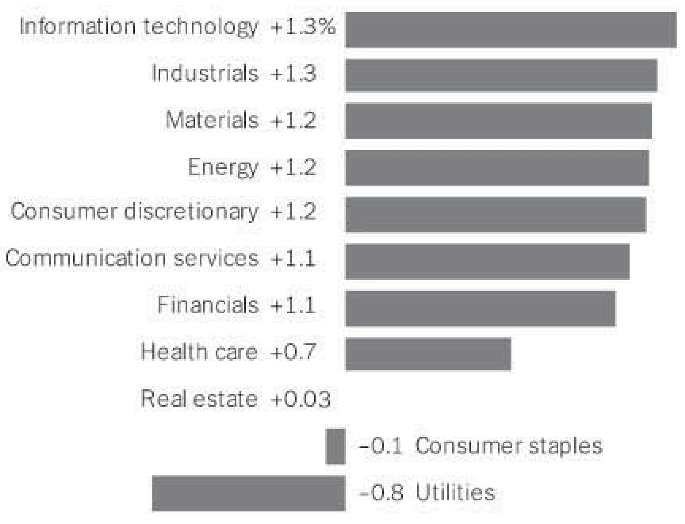
Specialty stocks and commodities

	TOTAL RETURN 1 YR	TOTAL RETURN 5 YRS	TOTAL ASSETS IN BIL.
1. Vanguard Real Estate Index Fund Investor Shares (VGSIX)	−16.5%	+5.6%	62.8
2. Vanguard Information Technology Index Fund Admiral Shares (VITAX)	+5.6	+18.8	53.1
3. Vanguard Health Care Fund Admiral Shares (VGHAX)	+10.8	+10.9	48.4
4. Vanguard Health Care Index Fund Admiral Shares (VHCIX)	+4.0	+11.3	20.2
5. T. Rowe Price Health Sciences Fund I Class (THISX)	+6.4	+11.1	15.9
6. Calamos Market Neutral Income Fund Class C (CVSCX)	+2.1	+2.2	14.4
7. Fidelity Select Software & IT Services Portfolio (FSCSX)	+1.3	+14.1	9.4
8. Fidelity Select Technology Portfolio (FSPTX)	+2.1	+15.2	9.3
9. BlackRock Health Sciences Opportunities Portfolio Service Shares (SHISX)	+5.9	+11.1	8.9
10. Columbia Seligman Technology and Information Fund Class C (SCICX)	−4.4	+15.8	8.7

Source: Morningstar

Sector performance

S&P 500 SECTORS



How stock markets fared yesterday in Asia ...

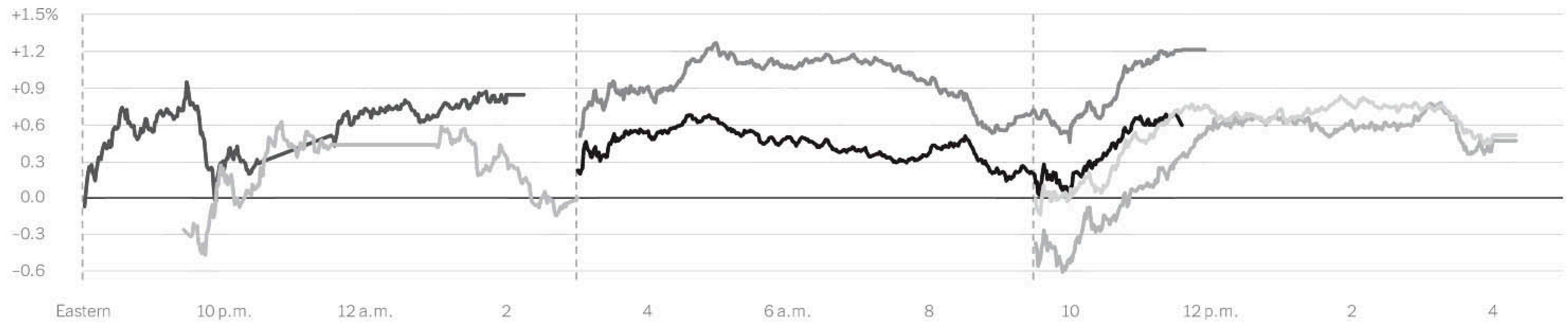
— Nikkei 225 (Japan): +0.8%
— Shanghai Composite (Shanghai): +0.0%

... in Europe

— FTSE 100 (London): +0.6%
— DAX (Frankfurt): +1.2%

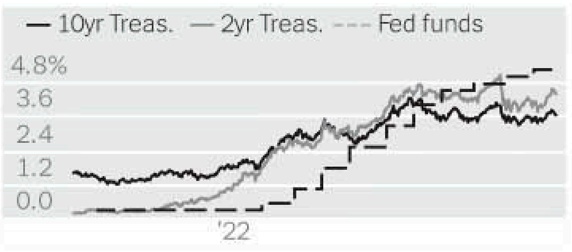
... and North America

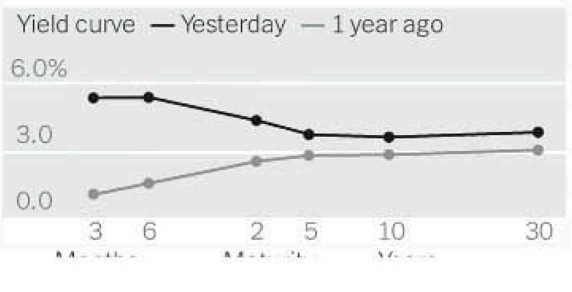
— Dow Jones Industrials (New York): +0.5%
— S&P/TSX (Toronto): +0.5%



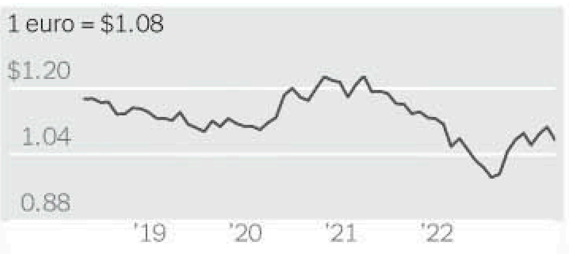
What Is Happening in Other Markets and the Economy

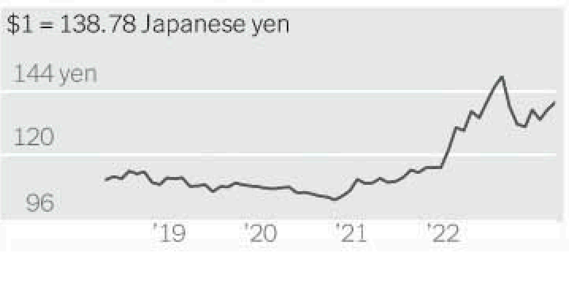
Bonds



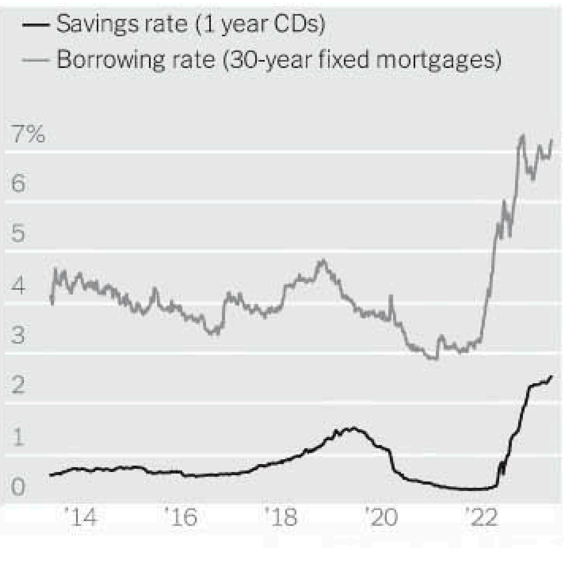


Currencies

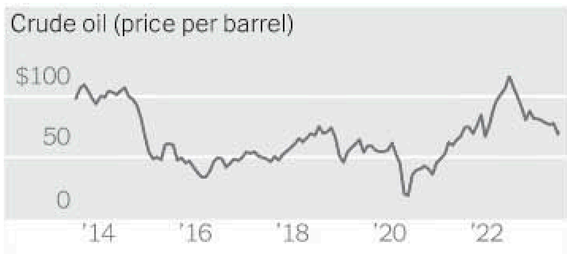


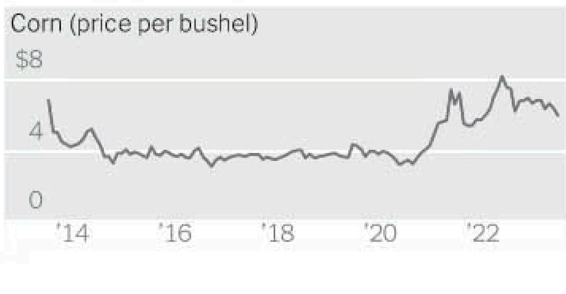


Consumer rates

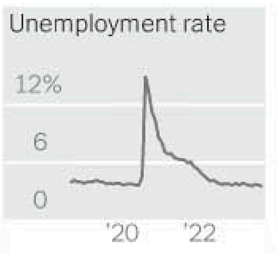


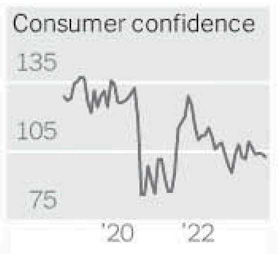
Commodities

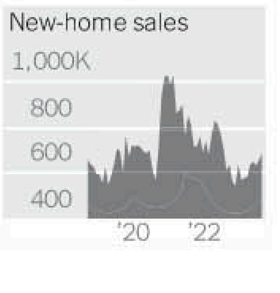


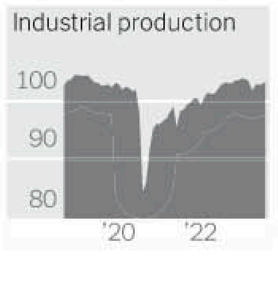


Economy









LEGAL | CULTURE WAR

Supreme Court Rules Law Doesn't Protect Union From Liability

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE
tanji Brown Jackson, dissented.

Some legal experts had said a union setback in the case would discourage workers from striking by making the union potentially liable for losses that an employer incurred during a work stoppage.

"It will definitely lead to more expensive-to-resolve lawsuits against labor unions," said Charlotte Garden, a law professor at the University of Minnesota who was an author of a brief in support of the union. Professor Garden did note, however, that the decision was less far-reaching in discouraging strike activity than it could have been.

Others have argued that the ruling was necessary to prevent workers from intentionally harming an employer's property, an act not protected by federal labor law, and that such restrictions do not jeopardize the right to strike.

"Damages from intentional destruction of property are not inherent to the act of striking," said Michael O'Neill of the Landmark Legal Foundation, a conservative legal advocacy group that submitted a brief in the case. As a result, Mr. O'Neill said, the law does not shield workers or unions from liability for such damage.

The case, Glacier Northwest v. International Brotherhood of Teamsters, No. 21-1449, involved unionized employees of a concrete mixing and pouring company who walked off the job during contract negotiations, leaving wet concrete in their trucks. The employer argued that it suffered substantial monetary losses because the abandoned concrete was unusable.

The union argued that it had taken reasonable steps to avoid harming the employer's property, as federal law requires, because workers kept their trucks running as they walked off the job. That allowed the company to dispose of the concrete without damage to the trucks. The union said the lost concrete amounted to the spoilage of a product, for which unions were not typically held liable.

At issue were two key questions. The first was procedural: whether the case should be allowed to go forward in state court, as employers generally prefer. The alternative is that the state court — in this case, Washington — should step aside in favor of the National Labor Relations Board, the federal agency responsible for resolving labor disputes.

The second question was about what economic damage is acceptable during a strike, and what amounts to vandalism — which federal labor law does not protect — of property or equipment.

The two issues are linked because under legal precedent, the labor board is supposed to elbow aside state courts when the alleged actions during the strike are at least "arguably protected" by federal law.

The Supreme Court ruled that the union's actions, as alleged by the employer, were not arguably protected because the spoilage of the product was not merely an indirect result of the strike. Instead, the employer contended in a lawsuit, "the drivers prompted the creation of the perishable product" and then waited until the concrete was inside the trucks before walking off the job.

"In so doing, they not only destroyed the concrete but also put Glacier's trucks in harm's way," the majority opinion said. It sent the case back to Washington State court to be litigated.

KENNY HOLSTON/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The decision by the justices is the latest in a series that appear to scale back the power of unions and workers.

Sean M. O'Brien, the president of the Teamsters, issued a defiant statement after the decision was announced. "The Teamsters will strike any employer, when necessary, no matter their size or the depth of their pockets," he said.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce said the court "got it right" in ruling that federal law "does not preempt state tort claims against a union for intentional destruction of an employer's property during a labor dispute."

In a concurring opinion, Justice Clarence Thomas agreed that the Washington State court should be allowed to take up the case. He wrote that in a future case, the Supreme Court should reconsider whether the National Labor Relations Board should have such wide latitude to take the first pass in such cases.

Justice Jackson noted in her dissent that the labor board had issued its own complaint since the case was first filed in Washington State. In issuing its complaint, the labor board's general counsel found that the strike activity was in fact protected. This by definition meant that the activity was "arguably protected," Justice Jackson wrote, requiring the state court to stand down.

The decision, which some experts said could cause unions to

> ***'It will definitely lead to more expensive-to-resolve lawsuits against labor unions.'***
>
> Charlotte Garden, a law professor at the University of Minnesota.

reconsider striking or take a more cautious approach when a perishable product could be harmed, followed a series of rulings that appeared to scale back the power of unions and workers.

The court ruled in 2018 that companies could prohibit workers from collectively bringing legal actions against their employers, even though the National Labor Relations Act protects workers' rights to engage in so-called concerted activities.

In the same year, the court ruled that public-sector unions could no longer require nonmembers to pay fees that help fund bargaining and other activities that unions do on their behalf.

In 2021, the court deemed unconstitutional a California regulation that gave unions access to agricultural employers' property for recruitment.

In interviews, union leaders said that the ruling on Thursday would further tilt an already uneven playing field toward employers, and that it was often not a strike itself but the threat of a strike that helped unions win concessions.

"Without the threat of a strike, you have little leverage in negotiations," said Stuart Appelbaum, the president of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union, which has organized successful strikes.

Mr. O'Neill's group, the Landmark Legal Foundation, argued that a ruling against the employer could have jeopardized the labor peace that the National Labor Relations Act was enacted to assure, "placing workers and the public at risk" by essentially blessing acts of vandalism and sabotage.

Unions and workers often deliberately plan strikes to exploit employers' vulnerability — for example, Amazon workers walked out during the holiday season — and rely on an element of surprise to maximize the economic harm they inflict, and therefore the leverage the union gains.

In the near term, unions that are contemplating strikes or already striking, such as unions representing Hollywood writers or United Parcel Service employees whose contract expires this summer, may have to take greater precautions to insulate themselves from legal liability.

Such precautions will typically weaken the impact of strikes, said Ms. Garden, the University of Minnesota professor. "You could get unions prophylactically adopting less effective tactics — things like giving advance warning about strike, which gives the employer a lot more time to hire replacement workers," she said.

Other unions may simply decide not to strike at all out of fear of heightened legal exposure, she said.

Further out, unions and their political allies may seek to enact legislation that explicitly exempts workers from liability for certain types of economic damage that arise during a strike.

"There will be efforts in blue states to make the best of it, to do something protective," said Sharon Block, a former Biden and Obama administration official who is a professor of practice at Harvard Law School.

But even these laws could wind up being challenged before the Supreme Court, experts said.

Adam Liptak contributed reporting.

Has Chick-fil-A 'Gone Woke'? Conservatives Say Its D.E.I. Policy Proves It Has.

By JESUS JIMÉNEZ

Chick-fil-A drew fierce criticism this week from conservatives calling out the fast-food chain for its diversity, equity and inclusion policy and questioning the hiring of an executive to be in charge of such efforts.

The backlash has made Chick-fil-A one of the latest companies to draw public condemnation over "culture war" flash points like L.G.B.T.Q. rights or seeking fair treatment for racial or ethnic groups that have been historically underrepresented. Several companies and brands have also been at the center of such criticism in recent months, including Bud Light, Target and the Los Angeles Dodgers. Chick-fil-A itself has drawn controversy in the past, though more typically from the left.

'Being Better at Together'

This week, many conservatives have rebuked Chick-fil-A, pointing to a corporate policy on its website that details the company's focus on "ensuring equal access," "valuing differences," and "creating a culture of belonging," under the title, "Committed to being Better at Together."

Critics also singled out the chain's hiring of Erick McReynolds to head its D.E.I. efforts, but that is also not a new development.

Citing that policy, Wade Miller, an executive director for Center for Renewing America, a conservative think tank, said on Twitter that he could no longer support the company as a customer: "Everything good must come to an end."

Jeffrey Clark, a former Justice Department official who was implicated in former President Donald J. Trump's efforts to overturn the 2020 election, said on Twitter that Chick-fil-A's policy was "disappointing."

"Chick-fil-A has gone woke," wrote Ian Miles Cheong, a right-wing critic with 625,000 Twitter followers. The conservative commentator Charlie Kirk of Turning Point USA shared a similar sentiment with his 2.2 million followers.

It was unclear why Chick-fil-A was only drawing criticism now for its D.E.I. efforts, since the company has long had such a policy in place. As for Mr. McReynolds, company records show that he had been the company's vice president of diversity, equity and inclusion since at least 2020.

The chain, known for its fried chicken sandwiches and waffle fries, declined to comment on Wednesday.

Past controversies

Chick-fil-A has been in the spotlight in the past over matters of inclusion, but for different reasons and from a different direction.

JAKUB PORZYCKI/NURPHOTO, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The fast-food chain has drawn fire from the right for its policy on diversity, equity and inclusion, and for appointing an executive to head those efforts.

Truett Cathy, a religious man who wanted to have his business closed on Sundays so that his workers could rest and worship if they wanted to do so. The company, which says its corporate purpose is "to glorify God by being a faithful steward of all that is entrusted to us," had aligned itself with conservative causes by donating to groups that tried to prevent the legalization of same-sex marriage in the United States.

In 2012, its president and chief operating officer spoke in favor of traditional marriage, inviting protests from advocates for same-sex marriage. The company had also been criticized for closing on Sundays because of religious beliefs.

Under pressure, the company later stopped almost all donations to organizations that opposed equal rights for people of different sexual orientation.

The chicken chain was criticized again in 2019 for making charitable donations to the Salvation Army and the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, two groups that had been criticized by L.G.B.T.Q. advocates. The company then stopped making donations to those groups.

What is a D.E.I. policy?

Corporate companies have had policies that promote diversity, equity and inclusion in some form for decades, largely to avoid discrimination on the basis of race, sex or religion. In recent years, these policies have increasingly been gathered under the acronym D.E.I.

Ivuoma Onyeador, a Northwestern University professor whose research examines how people understand discrimination and disparities, said that companies have D.E.I. policies to ensure that "their employees and customers and clients from marginalized backgrounds are having the same experience as employees, customers and clients from dominant groups or well-represented backgrounds."

Those policies "signal to employees from marginalized backgrounds, or racial minorities, that periences," Dr. Onyeador said. "That's the benefit of having these programs."

Stephanie Creary, a professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania whose research focuses on inclusion in the workplace, said that D.E.I. efforts have traditionally focused on issues such as anti-discrimination and anti-harassment policies, mentoring and sponsorship programs.

Over the years, Dr. Creary said that "D.E.I. practices have become broader in scope, particularly in terms of the dimensions of difference on which they focus, including religious values."

Chick-fil-A shifted after Floyd

Experts said that D.E.I. efforts were bolstered after the killings of George Floyd and Breonna Taylor by the police in 2020 spurred nationwide protests calling for social justice and police accountability.

"The Floyd moment felt like a shift," Dr. Onyeador said. "The 2020 moment, the Black Lives Matter moment over the last decade, has brought lots of these discussions to the forefront in a particularly unique way."

Alvin Tillery, the director of the Center for the Study of Diversity and Democracy at Northwestern, said that protests in the summer of 2020 revealed to corporations that many of their workers, especially younger ones, were "aggressively committed to racial justice."

"The corporate diversity programs shifted from these kind of benign discussions of recruiting and nonconscious bias to an active discussion of accountability for antiracism and gender equity," Dr. Tillery said.

In an internal report, Chick-fil-A said that in 2020 the commitment to diversity, equity and inclusion efforts "took on special significance for us as we proactively pursued new ways to work against racism, systemic or subtle, throughout the communities we serve."

The report, which does not explicitly refer to the social justice protests from that year, said that the company held dozens of listening sessions "to better understand and address racial injustice."

Those efforts informed the company's plans "to address racial injustice," the report said.

Caught in a crossfire

Corporations in the United States have to follow federal laws — such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 — that make it illegal to discriminate against someone on the basis of race, color, religion, national origin, sex or a disability.

Dr. Tillery said that many companies have D.E.I. policies to avoid the potential consequences of discriminatory practices.

"If companies don't want to face lawsuits, or Equal Employment Opportunity Commission complaints, it makes sense for them to have equity policies to make sure that there are no racial gaps," Dr. Tillery said.

Some companies also see D.E.I. as part of a moral commitment to justice and higher ideals. Dr. Onyeador added that many see a "business case for diversity."

She described that as "the idea that being a more diverse company, or having a more inclusive climate, increases performance outcome for a company."

This has put companies like Chick-fil-A at odds with some customers. It has also led to a political backlash among Republicans seeking to appeal to conservative voters. In Florida, for example, Gov. Ron DeSantis, a Republican candidate for president, recently signed legislation defunding diversity programs at the state's public universities and colleges.

Dr. Onyeador said that she believes conservatives have conflated increased D.E.I. efforts with support for other social justice efforts, such as the Black Lives Matter movement.

"Because they're against D.E.I. policies or 'wokeism,'" Ms. Onyeador said, "they're struggling with the connection between Chick-fil-A, as a company that they see as on their side, that is also engaging in this other work."

UCC PUBLIC SALE NOTICE

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that on July 19, 2023 commencing at 2:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time (the "Sale Date"), via audio/video teleconference the details of which will be provided to interested parties in advance of the Sale Date pursuant to the Terms of Public Sale (described below), based upon the occurrence of one or more Events of Default under certain documents (the "Loan Documents") copies of which are available for inspection as hereinafter described, pursuant to such Loan Documents, as amended, and Article 9 of the Uniform Commercial Code as enacted in the State of New York, Motcomb Estates Ltd. ("Secured Party") shall dispose of, by public sale, the right, title, and interest of MVS Mezz LLC ("Pledgor") in and to the following assets (collectively, the "Collateral"): (i) one hundred percent (100%) of the limited liability company interests in SB Hospitality, LLC, a Florida limited liability company ("Pledged Entity"); and (ii) all other assets pledged by Pledgor under the Loan Documents. The public sale shall be conducted by Mannion Auctions, LLC, by William Mannion, Auctioneer, NYC DCA License No. 796322, and/or Matthew D. Mannion, Auctioneer, NYC DCA License No. 1434494, or such other auctioneer licensed in the State of New York as is selected by Secured Party in its sole and absolute discretion.

Based upon information provided by Pledgor, Pledged Entity, and certain other persons and entities affiliated therewith, it is the understanding of Secured Party (but without any representation or warranty by Secured Party as to the accuracy or completeness of the following matters) that: (i) Pledgor owns one hundred percent (100%) of the limited liability company membership interests in Pledged Entity (the "Membership Interests"); (ii) Pledged Entity has good, marketable and insurable fee simple title in and to the real property comprising part of each parcel of real property located at 1111-1119 Collins Avenue, Miami Beach, Florida 33139 (the "Premises"), as more particularly described in the Loan Documents; and (iii) the Premises are encumbered by and subject to an Amended and Restated Mortgage, Assignment of Leases and Rents, Security Agreement and Fixture Filing (the "Mortgage") held by Secured Party securing indebtedness under the Loan Documents in the original principal amount of $27,500,000.00.

The Collateral is offered "AS IS, WHERE IS", with all faults, warranty (including, without limitation, any representation or warranty of merchantability or fitness), express or implied, of any kind or nature whatsoever.

Secured Party will be permitted to bid at the sale, and notwithstanding any requirement herein that the sale of the Collateral be for cash, Secured Party may credit bid all or any portion of the outstanding balance of the amounts due under the Loan Documents. Secured Party reserves the right, in its sole and absolute discretion, to (a) reject all bids and terminate the sale or adjourn the sale to such other date and time as Secured Party may deem proper, by announcement at the place and on the date of sale, and any subsequent adjournment thereof, without further publication, and (b) impose any other commercially reasonable conditions upon the sale of the Collateral as Secured Party may deem proper in its sole and absolute discretion.

The Membership Interests are unregistered securities under the Securities Act of 1933 as amended. Because of this, each prospective bidder seeking to be a "Qualified Bidder" (as determined by Secured Party in its sole and absolute discretion) shall be required, among other things, to execute and deliver to Secured Party a "Bidding Certificate" certifying, among other things, that such bidder: (i) will acquire the Collateral for investment purposes, solely for its own account and not with a view to distribution or resale; (ii) is an accredited investor within the meaning of the applicable securities laws; (iii) has sufficient knowledge and experience in financial and business matters so as to be capable of evaluating the merits and risks of investment and has sufficient financial means to afford the risk of investment in the Collateral; and (iv) will not resell or otherwise hypothecate the Collateral without either a valid registration under applicable federal or state laws, including without limitation the Securities Act of 1933 as amended, or an available exemption therefrom.

The public sale of the Collateral shall be subject to the further terms and conditions set forth in the "Terms of Public Sale" (including without limitation terms and conditions with respect to the availability of additional information, bidding requirements, deposit amounts, bidding procedures, and the consummation of the public sale), which are available online at www.1111CollinsAveUCCSale.com and by contacting: Jones Lang LaSalle Americas, Inc., 330 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017, Attn: Brett Rosenberg,

TOGUT, SEGAL & SEGAL LLP, Albert Togut, Kyle J. Ortiz, Brian F. Moore, One Penn Plaza, Suite 3335, New York, NY 10119, Phone: (212) 594-5000, Email: altogut@teamtogut.com, kortiz@teamtogut.com, bmoore@teamtogut.com, *Proposed Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession* -and- **SHEARMAN & STERLING LLP,** Fredric Sosnick, William S. Holste, Jacob S. Mezei, 599 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10022, Phone: (212) 848-4000, Email: fsosnick@shearman.com, william.holste@shearman.com, jacob.mezei@shearman.com -and- Ian E. Roberts (admitted *pro hac vice*), 2601 Olive Street, 17th Floor, Dallas, TX 75201, Phone: (214) 271-5777, Email: ian.roberts@shearman.com, *Proposed Special Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession*

UNITED STATES BANKRUPTCY COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

In re: VICE GROUP HOLDING INC., et al., Debtors.[1]	Chapter 11 Case No. 23-10738 (JPM) (Jointly Administered)

NOTICE OF SALE, BIDDING PROCEDURES, AUCTION, AND SALE HEARING FOR THE SALE OF SUBSTANTIALLY ALL ASSETS

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE OF THE FOLLOWING:

On May 15, 2023, Vice Group Holding Inc. and its debtor affiliates, as debtors and debtors in possession (collectively, the "Debtors") in the above-captioned chapter 11 cases (the "Chapter 11 Cases"), filed with the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York (the "Court") the *Debtors' Motion for Entry of an Order (I) Establishing Bidding, Noticing, and Assumption and Assignment Procedures, (II) Authorizing and Approving the Debtors' Entry into the Stalking Horse Agreement (III) Approving the Sale of Substantially all of the Debtors' Assets and (IV) Granting Related Relief* [ECF No. 16] (the "Motion"), among other things, approving certain bidding procedures (the "Bidding Procedures") in connection with the sale or sales of substantially all of the Debtors' assets (the "Assets") pursuant to section 363 of the Bankruptcy Code (the "Sale"), including certain dates and deadlines thereunder for the Sale process.[2]

On May 30, 2023, the Court, entered the Bidding Procedures Order [ECF No. 80].

The Bidding Procedures provide the following:

I. Stalking Horse Bidder. The Debtors have entered into that Asset and Equity Purchase Agreement, dated as of May 19, 2023, with Vice Acquisition HoldCo, LLC (the "Buyer" or the "Stalking Horse Bidder"), a copy of which was filed with the Court on May 19, 2023 at ECF No. 58 (as may be amended or modified pursuant to the terms thereof, the "Stalking Horse Agreement," and such bid memorialized therein, the "Stalking Horse Bid") for the sale of substantially all of the Debtors' Assets, free and clear of any and all liens, encumbrances, claims, and other interests (including, for the avoidance of doubt, any potential successor liability for any claims or causes of action of any kind against the Debtors and/or the Assets), pursuant to which the Stalking Horse Bidder has committed to provide aggregate consideration consisting of: (i) a credit bid of $225 million pursuant to Section 363(k) of title 11 of the United States Code (the "Bankruptcy Code") against certain obligations owed by the Debtors under the Pre-Petition Senior Secured Credit Agreement and the DIP Credit Agreement as of the Closing (the "Credit Bid"), with the Credit Bid allocated *first*, to payment of any such obligations under the DIP Credit Agreement until paid in full, and *second*, to payment of any such obligations under the Pre-Petition Senior Secured Credit Agreement as of the closing of the Sale process (the "Closing"), (ii) the assumption of the Assumed Liabilities, and (iii) the payment of the Cure Costs. The Sale Order is expected to contain customary release and injunction provisions for the benefit of the Stalking Horse Bidder or other Successful Bidder, and each of their respective affiliates.

II. Description of the Assets. The Debtors will consider bids (including bids from multiple bidders and multiple bids submitted by the same bidder) that are made for either:

(a) *VICE* Media Group – a diversified content powerhouse comprised of all of the *VICE* business segments and all *VICE* Assets;

(b) one or more of the following business segments:

- *VICE* Publishing – an award-winning global digital content business, which publishes content through its portfolio of brands;
- Refinery29, Inc. – a digital media and entertainment company focused on a female audience; or

(c) Any combination of Assets or business segments that comprise *VICE* Media Group.

III. Important Dates and Deadlines

(a) **Bid Deadline. June 20, 2023, at 4:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** is the deadline by which all Qualified Bids must be actually received in writing by the Bid Notice Parties (the "Bid Deadline").

(b) **Sale Objection Deadline.** Parties must file any objections to the proposed Sale (such objections, the "Sale Objections") with the Court and serve such objections on the Objection Recipients (as defined below) by no later than **4:00 p.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** on **June 16, 2023** (the "Sale Objection Deadline"). **By receiving this Sale Notice, you are subject to the Sale Objection Deadline as disclosed herein, unless extended by the Debtors or the Court.**[3]

(c) **Auction:** If the Debtors conduct an Auction, the Auction will be conducted at the offices of Shearman & Sterling LLP, 599 Lexington Avenue, Lexington Ave, New York, NY 10022 on **June 22, 2023, at 10:00 a.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)**, or at such other time and location (including via remote video) as designated by the Debtors. If the Debtors hold the Auction, the Debtors will, as soon as reasonably practicable after selecting the Successful Bid(s), file (but not serve) and publish on the Case Website a notice of the results of the Auction (such notice, the "Notice of Horse Bidder, objections solely related to the identity of such Successful Bidder(s), changes to the Stalking Horse Agreement, and adequate assurance of future performance must be made at or prior to the Sale Hearing. The Notice of Auction Results will set forth the specific deadline and procedures for filing any such objections in response to the Notice of Auction Results.

(d) **Sale Hearing.** Unless accelerated upon a Sale Acceleration Election (as defined in the Bidding Procedures) made by the Debtors, the Sale Hearing shall be held before the Honorable John P. Mastando III on **June 23, 2023**, at **10:00 a.m. (prevailing Eastern Time)** at the United States Bankruptcy Court for the Southern District of New York, One Bowling Green, New York, New York 10004-1408.

IV. Procedures for Sale Objections. Sale Objections must be (a) be in writing; (b) comply with the Bankruptcy Code, the Federal Rules of Bankruptcy Procedure, and the Local Bankruptcy Rules for the Southern District of New York; (c) state, with specificity, the legal and factual bases thereof; (d) include any appropriate documentation in support thereof; and (f) be filed with the Court and served on the following parties (the "Objection Recipients") by the Sale Objection Deadline: (i) the Debtors, c/o *VICE*, 49 S 2nd St, Brooklyn, NY 11249 (Attn: Maria Harris (maria.harris@vice.com)); (ii) the Debtors' counsel, Togut, Segal & Segal LLP, One Penn Plaza, Suite 3335, New York, NY 10119 (Attn: Kyle J. Ortiz (kortiz@teamtogut.com) and Brian F. Moore (bmoore@teamtogut.com)); (iii) special counsel for the Debtors, Shearman & Sterling LLP 599, Lexington Avenue, Lexington Ave, New York, NY 10022 (Attn: Fredric Sosnick (fsosnick@shearman.com), Christopher Forrester (chris.forrester@shearman.com), and Ian E. Roberts (ian.roberts@shearman.com); (iv) counsel to the Committee, Pachulski Stang Ziehl & Jones LLP, 780 Third Avenue, 34th Floor, New York, NY 10017 (Attn: Robert J. Feinstein (rfeinstein@pszjlaw.com) and Bradford J. Sandler (bsandler@pszjlaw.com)); (v) entities on the Master Service List (which may be obtained at the Debtors' case management website at https://cases.stretto.com/vice/); and (vi) counsel to the Stalking Horse Bidder, Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP, 333 South Grand Avenue Los Angeles, California 90071 (Attn: David Feldman (DFeldman@gibsondunn.com), Michael S. Neumeister (mneumeister@gibsondunn.com), and Tommy Scheffer (tscheffer@gibsondunn.com)).

Any party who fails to file with the Court and serve on the Objection Recipients a Sale Objection by the applicable Sale Objection Deadline may be forever barred from asserting, at the Sale Hearing or Accelerated Sale Hearing, as applicable, or thereafter, any objection to the relief requested in the Sale Motion, or to the consummation and performance of the Sale contemplated by the Stalking Horse Agreement, or purchase and sale agreement with a Successful Bidder free and clear of all liens, claims, interests, and encumbrances pursuant to section 363(f) of the Bankruptcy Code.

V. Additional Information. This Sale Notice and any Sale Hearing are subject to the fuller terms and conditions of the Sale Motion, the Bidding Procedures Order, and the Bidding Procedures, each of which shall control, as applicable, in the event of any conflict. The Debtors encourage parties in interest to review such documents in their entirety. Copies of the Motion, the Bidding Procedures Order, the Bidding Procedures, and the Sale Notice may be obtained free of charge at Case Website, located at https://cases.stretto.com/vice/.

Any party who fails to file with the Court and serve on the Objection Recipients a Sale Objection by the applicable Sale Objection Deadline may be forever barred from asserting, at the Sale Hearing or Accelerated Sale Hearing, as applicable, or thereafter, any objection to the relief requested in the Motion, or purchase and sale agreement with a Successful Bidder free and clear of all liens, claims, interests, and encumbrances pursuant to section 363(f) of the Bankruptcy Code.

Dated: May 30, 2023, New York, New York, **SHEARMAN & STERLING LLP,** /s/ Fredric Sosnick, Fredric Sosnick, William S. Holste, Jacob S. Mezei, 599 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10022, Phone: (212) 848-4000, Email: fsosnick@shearman.com, william.holste@shearman.com, jacob.mezei@shearman.com -and- Ian E. Roberts (admitted *pro hac vice*), 2601 Olive Street, 17th Floor, Dallas, TX 75201, Phone: (214) 271-5777, Email: ian.roberts@shearman.com, *Proposed Special Counsel to the Debtors and Debtors in Possession*

[1] The Debtors in these chapter 11 cases, along with the last four digits of each Debtor's tax identification number, are: Vice Group Holding Inc. (4250); Vice Impact Inc. (9603); Vice Media LLC (5144); Villain LLC (3050); Boy Who Cried Author LLC (6199); Carrot Operations LLC (1596); Carrot Creative LLC (8652); Channel 271 Productions LLC (1637); Clifford Benski, Inc. (9387); Dana Made LLC (1065); Inverness Collective LLC (6542); JT Leroy Holding LLC (7555); PLDM Films LLC (5217); Project Change LLC (2758); R29 Pride, LLC (7011); R29 Productions, LLC (6344); Refinery 29 Inc. (7749); Valvi LLC (6110); Vice Content Development, LLC (5165); Vice Distribution LLC (5515); Vice Europe Holding Limited (N/A); Vice Europe Pulse Holding Limited (N/A); Vice Food LLC (1693); Vice Holding Inc. (2658); Vice International Holding, Inc. (5669); Vice Music Publishing LLC (3022); Vice Payroll LLC (6626); Vice Productions LLC (5399); Vice Project Services LLC (6473); Virtue Worldwide, LLC (7212); Visur LLC (9336); and VTV Productions LLC (6854). The location of the Debtors' service address for purposes of these chapter 11 cases is: 49 South 2nd Street, Brooklyn, NY 11249.

[2] Capitalized terms not otherwise defined herein shall have the meaning ascribed to such terms in the Motion or the Bidding Procedures.

[3] In addition to service of this Sale Notice, the Debtors will provide publication notice to parties who are not currently known to the Debtors by publishing this Sale Notice in the national edition of *USA Today* and once

INTERNATIONAL

China's New Graduates Are Struggling to Find Work. Xi Shrugs.

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

in life demonstrate that in one's youth, choosing to eat bitterness is also choosing to reap rewards," Mr. Xi was quoted in a front-page article in the official People's Daily on the Youth Day in May.

The article, about Mr. Xi's expectations of the young generation, mentioned "eat bitterness" five times. He has also repeatedly urged young people to "seek self-inflicted hardships," using his own experience of working in the countryside during the Cultural Revolution.

"Why would he want young people to give up a peaceful and stable life and instead seek suffering?" Cai Shenkun, an independent political commentator, wrote in a Twitter post, calling Mr. Xi's proposal "a contemptuous act toward young people."

"What kind of intention is behind this?" he asked. "Where does he want to lead the Chinese youth?"

A record 11.6 million college graduates are entering the work force this year, and one in five young people is unemployed. China's leadership is hoping to persuade a generation that grew up amid mostly rising prosperity to accept a different reality.

The youth unemployment rate is a statistic the Chinese Communist Party takes seriously because it believes that idle young people could threaten its rule. Mao Zedong sent more than 16 million urban youths, including Mr. Xi, to toil in the fields of the countryside during the Cultural Revolution. The return of these jobless young people to cities after the Cultural Revolution, in part, forced the party to embrace self-employment, or jobs outside the state planned economy.

Today the party's propaganda machine is spinning stories about young people making a decent living by delivering meals, recycling garbage, setting up food stalls, and fishing and farming. It's a form of official gaslighting, trying to deflect accountability from the government for its economy-crushing policies like cracking down on the private sector, imposing unnecessarily harsh Covid restrictions and isolating China's trading partners.

Many people are struggling emotionally. A young woman in Shanghai named Ms. Zhang, who graduated last year with a master's degree in city planning, has sent out 130 résumés and secured no job offers and only a handful of interviews. Living in a 100-square-foot bedroom in a three-bedroom apartment, she barely gets by with a monthly income of less than $700 as a part-time tutor.

"At my emotional low point, I wished I were a robot," she said. "I thought to myself if I didn't have emotions, I would not feel helpless, powerless and disappointed. I would be able to keep sending out résumés."

But she realized she shouldn't be too harsh on herself. The problems are bigger than her. She doesn't buy into the eating bitterness talk.

"To ask us to endure hardships is to try to shift focus from the anemic economic growth and the decreasing job opportunities," said Ms. Zhang, who, like most people I interviewed for this column, wanted to be identified with only her family name because of safety concerns. A few others want to be identified only with their English names.

Trying to persuade a generation to accept a less prosperous future.

The party's messaging is effective with some people. Guo, a data analyst in Shanghai who has been unemployed since last summer, said he didn't want to blame his joblessness on the pandemic or the Communist Party. He blames his own lack of luck and abilities.

He canceled his online games and music subscriptions. To make ends meet, he delivered meals last December, working 11 to 12 hours a day. In the end he made a little over $700 a month. He quit because the work was too physically exhausting.

In other words, he failed in eating bitterness.

Mr. Xi's instruction to move to the countryside is equally out of touch with young people, as well as with China's reality. In December he told officials "to systematically guide college graduates to rural areas." On Youth Day a few weeks ago, he responded to a letter by a group of agriculture students who are working in rural areas, commending them for "seeking self-inflicted hardships." The letter, also published on the front page of People's Daily, triggered discussions about whether Mr. Xi would start a Maoist-style campaign to send urban youths to the countryside.

Such a policy would devastate the Chinese dream of moving up socially that many young people and their parents hold dearly.

Wang, a former advertising executive in Kunming in southwestern China, has been unemployed since December 2021 after the pandemic hit his industry hard. He talked to his parents, both farmers, about moving back to their village and starting a pig farm. He said they were vehemently against the idea.

"They said they spent a lot of money on my education so I wouldn't become a farmer," he said.

In the hierarchical Chinese society, manual jobs are looked down upon. Farming ranks even lower because of the huge wealth gap between cities and rural areas.

"Women wouldn't consider to become my girlfriends if they knew that I deliver meals," Wang said. He would fare even worse in the marriage market if he became a farmer.

It's obvious to some young people that Mr. Xi's proposals for solving unemployment are backward looking.

Mr. Xi "talks about the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation all the time," said Steven, who graduated from a top U.K. university with a master's degree in interactive design and has yet to find a job. "But isn't the rejuvenation about not everyone engaging in physical labor?" Because of the rapid development of robots and other technologies, he said, these jobs are easily replaceable.

Of 13 Chinese graduates from his school, the five who chose to stay in the West have found jobs at Silicon Valley or Wall Street firms. Only three of the eight who returned to China have secured job offers. Steven moved back to China this year to be closer to his mother.

Now after months of fruitless job hunting, he, like almost every young worker I interviewed for this column, sees no future for himself in China.

"My best way out," he said, "is to persuade my parents to let me run away from China."

DING TING/XINHUA, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The difficulty of scaling up production will make it hard for the Commercial Aircraft Corporation of China to challenge Boeing and Airbus in global markets.

First Large Commercial Jet Is a Milestone for China

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

Boeing and Airbus, a European company with national ownership stakes held by France, Germany and others. The two have dominated the sale of planes worldwide for years.

Boeing's chief executive, Dave Calhoun, speaking to reporters this week at a Boeing factory in North Charleston, S.C., called the C919 a "good airplane" that would eventually satisfy domestic demand in China, but said it would be "a long while" before the country built up enough production capacity to fill those needs.

Mr. Calhoun spoke from a room overlooking a handful of Boeing 787 twin-aisle jets that were in the final stages of manufacturing, including one bearing the logo of Air China, the country's flagship carrier. He said he was confident that the global market could accommodate a third big manufacturer.

"Three providers in a growing global market of this size and scale should not be the most intimidating thought in the world," he said.

China remains an important market for Boeing and Airbus.

Last year, about 42 percent of China's more than 4.1 million scheduled domestic flights used Boeing airplanes, and 54 percent used jets made by Airbus, according to Cirium, an aviation data provider.

Airbus, which entered the Chinese aviation market in 1985, said in April that it would build a second assembly line at its factory in China and got the green light to move ahead with orders for 160 planes. It has about 2,100 aircraft in use in China.

POOL PHOTO BY JASON REDMOND

Xi Jinping, center, China's top leader, touring the Boeing plant in Seattle in 2015. China is a major market for Boeing.

In 2019, Boeing's 737 Max was banned globally after two crashes killed 346 people. Before those accidents, about one in four new Boeing planes went to China.

But Boeing's sales in China have suffered in recent years. Commercial flights aboard Boeing's 737 Max resumed in China in January, about two years after the plane started to return to service around the world, including in the United States.

Mr. Calhoun said Boeing would support the country while more of China's residents started flying again as the economy recovered from strict Covid restrictions. But recurring tensions between China and the United States mean that Boeing's relationship with China will progress in "fits and starts," he said, adding that there would either way.

'Three providers in a growing global market of this size and scale should not be the most intimidating thought in the world.'

Dave Calhoun, the chief executive of Boeing, on the prospects of China selling commercial aircraft.

"What's life without China? It turns out life will be OK. It's not the way we want it, but it'll be OK," he said.

He added: "We should stay focused on the competition we have and try to win that technology race. And as we do so, keep ourselves in the league with respect does."

COMAC relies heavily on U.S. and European suppliers to make the C919, including its engine and many components necessary to power and control the plane. The company has said it plans to eventually start making 150 C919 planes a year, though analysts are skeptical about COMAC's production capacity, particularly after years of delays in producing the plane in the first place.

The C919 has yet to be certified for use on international flights, but could over time fill a growing demand in China for single-aisle planes in domestic flight. By 2030, China is expected to need some 4,800 single-aisle jets like the C919 for regional travel, according to Herman Tse, an analyst at Cirium.

If the company is able to increase its production of the C919, he said, COMAC could become a popular choice for Chinese airlines and carve out a piece of the market, but it would still lag Boe-

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Europe's Inflation Falls to 6.1%, Its Lowest in More Than a Year

By LIZ ALDERMAN

PARIS — Inflation in the eurozone slid last month to the lowest level in more than a year, as an easing of price rises after last year's run-up in energy bills gained momentum. But the price of food and services climbed at an uncomfortable pace, raising the odds that the European Central Bank will continue to lift interest rates to curb costs.

Consumer prices in countries that use the euro rose at an annual rate of 6.1 percent in May, down from 7.0 percent in April and well below double-digit increases in autumn, Europe's statistical agency reported Thursday. Excluding volatile food and energy costs, so-called core inflation rose 5.3 percent, down from 5.6 percent the month before.

Yet while the yearlong surge in inflation has peaked, millions of households in Europe are continuing to confront a cost-of-living crisis, even as employers raise wages to help offset the pain, an issue that remains a top concern for E.C.B. officials.

"I could not say that the victory is there so far," the bank's vice president, Luis de Guindos, said in Frankfurt this week.

How much higher the European Central Bank will raise interest rates to deal with inflation remains to be seen. Last month, Christine Lagarde, the bank's president, said that "we have more ground to cover" to bring inflation down to its 2 percent target, and policymakers have signaled that they will lift rates at least once more when they meet this month, probably by a quarter point.

"From there on, things get more uncertain," analysts at ING Bank wrote in a note on Thursday.

But with core inflation still high, the central bank could raise rates twice in coming months, to 3.75 percent, according to a forecast by Nomura. "Persistently high core inflation will remain a concern for the E.C.B.," analysts wrote in a note to clients this week.

The moderation in price gains last month reflected efforts by governments in Europe's largest economies to lower skyrocketing energy costs over the winter through concerted efforts to make up for a decline in Russian gas supplies. Many continued a policy of shielding households from soaring energy bills. They also put pressure on food producers to cap surging prices on grocery store shelves.

Germany's annual inflation rate fell to 6.3 percent in May, from 7.6 percent in April; in France, the rate fell to 6 percent, well below economists' forecasts, from 6.9 percent. Spain's inflation fell to 2.9 percent, a two-year low as the government subsidized gas bills.

Despite government programs to protect consumers from runaway prices, costs for food, alcohol and tobacco remain high, increasing at an annual rate of 12.5 percent in May. Still, that was down from 15.5 percent in March.

In France, the eurozone's second-largest economy, food purchases slumped 11 percent below the level during the coronavirus pandemic.

The slowdown "shows the significant impact of the inflationary context and the fall in purchasing power, which has led households to significantly alter their consumption habits," Charlotte de Montpellier, senior economist at ING Bank, said in a note to clients.

In Germany, which began the year in a recession, stubbornly high inflation has caused consumers to scale back consumption, pushing spending down 1.2 percent in the first three months of this year.

It's still a high number, and rate increases are likely.

"The reluctance of households to buy was apparent in a variety of areas," the German statistics office said in a report last week. "Households spent less on food and beverages, clothing and footwear, and on furnishings." They also purchased fewer electric cars, as government incentives were reduced.

And few believe that inflation is sure to continue moderating in the months ahead. France is among countries that are pulling back on generous energy subsidies as the government seeks to rein in its finances, heralding an increase in costs for consumers and businesses.

The inflationary pressures have increasingly filtered through the eurozone's economy, especially for services, from hotel managers and waiters at restaurants to truck drivers. Costs have zoomed up as employers have raised wages amid worker demands to keep up with rising monthly expenses. Services inflation rose at an annual 5 percent pace in May, a steep increase from the previous year.

The labor market in the euro area remains tight, as unemployment has fallen to the lowest rate on record, a seasonally adjusted 6.5 percent in April, according to Eurostat, the statistical agency. Hourly labor costs in the eurozone rose at a record pace of 5.7 percent in the fourth quarter of last year, compared with a year earlier.

THOMAS LOHNES/GETTY IMAGES

Christine Lagarde, the European Central Bank's president, has said that "we

STUDENT DEBT | LEGAL

Here's What to Know if You Start Repaying Student Loans

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

reprieve from wage garnishment and other collection efforts. Interest had also stopped accruing during that time.

Your finances may look completely different from what they were three years ago, which is why borrowers should take a moment to evaluate where they stand — ideally well before loan servicers are crushed with calls and inquiries.

Here's everything you need to know.

What's the first thing I need to do?

Make sure your student loan servicer can find you. Go to your servicer's website and verify that it has your latest contact details: email address, mailing address and phone number.

Not sure who your servicer is? Go to StudentAid.gov, find your account dashboard and scroll down to the "My Loan Servicers" section. You can also call the Federal Student Aid Information Center at 1-800-433-3243.

When will my payments restart? And how?

You should receive a notice or billing statement at least three weeks before your first payment is due, which should include your payment amount and due date. If you don't want to wait, you can contact your servicer for that information now.

This is important: If you were on an automatic payment plan before the pandemic — that is, before March 13, 2020 — *you must opt back in*. Your servicer should reach out to you about this. If you don't respond, your payments will *not* automatically restart.

If you signed up for autopay after that date, automatic payments will resume. Borrowers who have continued to make payments don't have to do anything at all.

If you miss the first payment, don't panic. Just contact your servicer and make arrangements to become current.

How will any potential loan cancellation be factored in?

Millions of borrowers could see up to $20,000 of their balance disappear if the Supreme Court allows the Biden administration to move ahead with its debt cancellation plan. (A decision is expected by the end of June.) The program would cancel $10,000 of debt for single individuals earning under $125,000 and married joint filers and heads of households with income under $250,000. Borrowers who received Pell Grants and fall under the income ceilings can qualify for another $10,000 in debt relief.

Debt cancellation would be automatic for borrowers who already submitted applications and had them approved, as well as those who didn't need to apply because the government already had their information on file, borrower advocates said. Those who applied but haven't yet received approval wouldn't need to do so again.

Payments would be recalculated based on your new balance.

Payments for borrowers already enrolled in income-driven plans, however, generally wouldn't change even if a portion of their debt was canceled. That's because their payments are based on their discretionary income and household size.

I can't afford my loan payment. What are my options?

Thankfully, federal borrowers have many options. But having so many choices can also be paralyzing, especially when they each have different eligibility rules and outcomes. But there are generally three categories:

FIXED PAYMENT PLANS These include standard (fixed payments), graduated (your payments rise) and extended (you pay over a longer time) repayment plans.

INCOME-DRIVEN REPAYMENT PLANS These plans base payments on your income and family size and may yield monthly payments as low as $0. After a couple of decades of payments, the government forgives whatever balance you're still carrying. These plans will probably be the preferred option for many borrowers who struggle with making their payments.

LAST RESORTS Borrowers can also request deferment or forbearance, both of which temporarily put payments on hold — though there can be significant added costs in the long run. With forbearance, payments stop but interest still accrues. If the interest is not paid, it's added to the loan's principal balance. Deferment is similar, but subsidized loans — which generally have slightly better terms — won't accrue interest while they're paused.

Tell me more about income-driven plans.

The rules are complicated, but the gist is simple: Payments are based on your earnings and family size.

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

ALEX BRANDON/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Top, a crowd gathered outside the Supreme Court in February as justices heard arguments over the Biden administration's student debt forgiveness policy. With the pause on federal student loans ending, borrowers should receive a notice or billing statement at least three weeks before their first payment is due.

After you make monthly payments for a set number of years — usually 20, sometimes 25 — any remaining balance is forgiven. (The balance is taxable as income, though a temporary tax rule exempts balances forgiven through 2025 from federal income taxes.)

For now, there's a confusing assortment of plans available. The alphabet soup includes PAYE (Pay as You Earn), REPAYE (Revised Pay as You Earn), I.C.R. (Income-Contingent Repayment) and two versions of I.B.R. (Income-Based Repayment). There's yet another — more affordable — plan in development, but we'll explain more later.

Monthly payments are often calculated at 10 or 15 percent of discretionary income, but one plan is 20 percent. Under the existing plans, discretionary income is usually defined as the amount earned above 150 percent of the poverty level, which is adjusted for household size.

The formulas aren't adjusted for local cost of living, private student loans or medical bills, among other things. But they remain a more manageable solution for many borrowers.

The Biden administration has proposed a less expensive income-driven plan. What's the status?

The proposed plan would revise the existing income-driven plan known as REPAYE, and could reduce payments for millions of borrowers by more than half.

The Education Department released the proposal in January, and a final rule — which may have been tweaked from the initial proposal — was sent to the White House for review on May 23.

"They could pretty quickly approve it," said Abby Shafroth, director of the Student Loan Borrower Assistance Project at the National Consumer Law Center, "or they could find issues and send it back the Department of Education for revision."

Even after a final plan is approved and published, it will take time to get up and running, so it's hard to say when it will be open for enrollment.

How will the new plan work?

The proposed plan would become more generous in several ways. To start, it would reduce payments on undergraduate loans to 5 percent of discretionary income, down from 10 percent in the existing plan.

Graduate debt is also eligible, but borrowers would pay 10 percent of discretionary income on that portion. If you held both undergraduate and graduate debt, your payment would be weighted accordingly.

The proposed plan would also tweak the payment formula so that more income was protected for a borrower's basic needs, which would reduce payments overall. That change would also allow more low-income workers to qualify for zero-dollar payments.

Some borrowers wouldn't get access, however: The new plan is not open to parents who borrowed to pay for their children's schooling using Parent PLUS loans. They're eligible for only one income-driven plan, I.C.R.

Once the revised REPAYE plan becomes available, the Biden administration has proposed simplifying the I.D.R. landscape and limiting new enrollment into certain plans.

Borrowers with Parent PLUS loans, however, would *not* lose access to the I.C.R. plan. They could continue to enroll in that plan after they consolidated into a so-called direct consolidation loan.

How do I choose the best plan?

The loan simulator tool at StudentAid.gov can help. It will guide you through the options and help you decide which plan best fits your goals.

And it's easy to use. When you sign in, it should automatically use your loans in its calculations. (You can add other federal loans if any are missing.) You can also compare plans side by side — how much they'll cost over time, both monthly and in total, and if any debt would be forgiven.

The new REPAYE plan is expected to provide the lowest payment for most borrowers. But until that becomes available, borrowers will have to choose among the existing alternatives.

I was in an income-driven plan. What happens now?

You'll still be enrolled in the same plan. And there's good news: All your months of paused payments are treated as if you had paid, which means that time counts toward the years you must accrue to have your loan forgiven.

Participants in an income-driven plan must recertify their income to remain enrolled, but you won't be asked to do this immediately — the earliest you will be asked is six months after the payment pause ends, experts said, or probably near the end of February.

You may want to do it sooner: If your income dropped or your family grew, updating your information is likely to lower your payment. To update your information, visit the I.D.R. application online and select the button next to "Recalculate My Monthly Payment."

Many borrowers received credit on their payments, bringing them closer to loan forgiveness. How will I know if I will benefit and where my loan stands?

The Biden administration created a program to address administrative problems that long plagued the student loan system, particularly for borrowers enrolled in income-driven repayment plans and those seeking relief through its Public Service Loan Forgiveness program.

Millions of federal borrowers have received one-time account adjustments, which will revise their accounts so that more of their payments will count toward the required number of payments needed for loan forgiveness.

The adjustments also apply to borrowers who are not enrolled in income-driven repayment programs. This acknowledges that many financially distressed borrowers didn't receive all of their options when they sought help from their loan servicers, or were steered into less helpful choices, like forbearance.

Most of these adjustments will happen automatically, but there are exceptions for loans not held by the Education Department.

My loans were in default before March 2020. What is my status now?

Most borrowers who fell into default before March 2020 have a one-time chance to wipe the slate clean under the administration's Fresh Start program. But some benefits are automatic, and others will require action by borrowers.

First, the automatic: Borrowers in default will not be subject to collection efforts or have their wages garnished through roughly August 2024, which basically gives them one year after the payment pause lifts to make arrangements to get back on track. They are also eligible for federal student loans again, as many borrowers in default haven't completed degrees. And finally, defaulted borrowers' loans are already being reported to the credit bureaus as being current.

But all of this is temporary unless you take some extra steps. Borrowers must contact their loan holder to keep their loans out of default for the long term. If they don't take action, loans will fall back into default a year after the pause ends.

It's pretty simple: Contact the Education Department's Default Resolution Group — by phone, online or mail — and ask it to take your loans out of default through the Fresh Start program. It will transfer your loans to a regular loan servicer (which can take four to six weeks) and wipe the record of default from your credit report. Taking these steps will also restore access to income-driven repayment plans and forgiveness programs, including Public Service Loan Forgiveness.

I was behind on my payments. What are my options?

Delinquent borrowers will also receive a fresh start: Their accounts will be considered current.

That should remove the pressure for borrowers who were in danger of falling into default, which happens if you're at least 270 days behind. If you were delinquent, find out what your payment is expected to be; if you still cannot afford it, consider enrolling in a different repayment plan that will lower your bill.

Where can I get more help?

Besides your servicer, groups like the Institute of Student Loan Advisors, known as TISLA, can provide free guidance on what options may best work for you. For New York State residents, EDCAP, a nonprofit focused on student loans, also offers help. And some employers and other organizations have hired companies like Summer, which helps borrowers sort through the options.

Borrowers need to be on high alert for scam artists offering debt relief and other services. If you're unsure whether the help you're being offered is legitimate, hang up, don't respond to the email — and reach out to your servicer using the number printed on your bill or the government website. You can file complaints through the Federal Trade Commission

D.C. Judge Dismisses Privacy Suit Against Meta

By CECILIA KANG

WASHINGTON — A Superior Court judge on Thursday dismissed a privacy lawsuit against Meta by the District of Columbia, which had accused the company of deceiving consumers by improperly sharing their data with third parties, including the British political consulting firm Cambridge Analytica.

The decision was a rare victory for Meta, which owns Facebook and Instagram, as it battles lawsuits filed by the federal government, states, foreign regulators and consumers in privacy, antitrust and consumer protection disputes.

In his opinion, Judge Maurice A. Ross of Superior Court for the District of Columbia said Facebook's policies had clearly disclosed how third parties could obtain data "such that a reasonable consumer could not have been misled" under the district's consumer protection law.

The district's attorney general at the time, Karl Racine, filed the lawsuit in 2018 after revelations that Cambridge Analytica had obtained data on tens of millions of Facebook users — including those in the District of Columbia — without their consent. Mr. Racine accused Facebook of violating the district's law.

But Judge Ross said Facebook not only had adequately informed users of how data could be shared with third parties but had provided instructions on how to limit data sharing. He added that Facebook had taken adequate steps to investigate Cambridge Analytica and inform users after press reports about the activity emerged.

"While the district may disagree with Facebook's approach to the situation, there is no legal basis that required Facebook to act differently," Judge Ross said. "Facebook did not materially mislead consumers as to their response to Cambridge Analytica."

A spokesman for the District of Columbia attorney general's office, Gabriel Shoglow-Rubenstein, said in a statement, "We respectfully disagree with the court's decision and are considering all of our options."

Meta declined to comment.

Why It Matters

Meta faces legal challenges around the world. The company has grappled with scrutiny and criticism for its handling of disinformation, privacy and competition. Partly to shift Meta's narrative, the company's chief executive, Mark Zuckerberg, has been trying to turn its focus toward the so-called metaverse, which is a virtual reality space, and artificial intelligence.

The dismissal of the District of Columbia lawsuit stands out not only against that backdrop, but also because it is a rare win in one of Meta's most lasting challenges: the Cambridge Analytica privacy scandal, which exposed how Facebook's user data can leak and spread.

Lawmakers and regulators around the world have criticized Facebook's handling of user data after the Cambridge Analytica issues surfaced. In 2019, the Federal Trade Commission fined Facebook $5 billion for data privacy abuses related to the scandal. Last December, Meta agreed to a $750 million settlement to resolve a class-action lawsuit accusing the company of sharing data with third parties, including Cambridge Analytica. Last month, a Delaware judge rejected Facebook's bid to dismiss a lawsuit brought by shareholders over Cambridge Analytica's use of data.

Background

In 2010, Facebook began a program called Open Graph, which gave developers access to the social network's data. Thousands of companies and researchers took advantage of the program.

One of the researchers was Aleksandr Kogan, who in 2013 created a quiz app for Facebook users that collected data on users and their connections on Facebook for psychological profiling.

In 2018, news reports revealed that Mr. Kogan had given the Facebook data from as many as 87 million users to Cambridge Analytica, which used the information to build political profiles for voter targeting by campaigns. At the time, Facebook's privacy practices and data use by other parties were not well understood. The Cambridge Analytica revelations showed how far Facebook user

N

Sports
The New York Times

TENNIS | FRENCH OPEN

JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Frenchman Lucas Pouille was quickly dispatched by Cameron Norrie on Wednesday, but the fans at Roland Garros showered him with roaring appreciation before he left the court.

A Love Game. Unconditionally.

No French Player Has Won the Open in Decades, but That Doesn't Dampen the Fans' Adoration

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

PARIS — Had you been at Roland Garros around supper time Wednesday evening and heard the crowd of nearly 10,000 fans chanting Lucas Pouille's name at a near deafening level, you would have assumed you had just missed a triumphant performance.

Not even close. Pouille, a 29-year-old Frenchman, on the court named for Suzanne Lenglen, the French tennis star of the 1920s, lost in straight sets to Cameron Norrie, a Briton to add insult to injury, in less than two hours.

No matter.

For 105 minutes, the French faithful had serenaded Pouille and met his every winner with rousing roars. A four-piece band with a horn and a bass drum tooted and banged away between points. If you are French at the French Open, it's what you do.

Each of the four Grand Slam tournaments has its unique charms and intangible quirks, rhythms and characteristics.

The Australian Open is a two-week summertime party held when much of the world is shivering. Wimbledon has its mystique, the sense that the grass, especially on Centre Court, is hallowed ground, and the hear-a-pin-drop silence of the most proper of crowds. The U.S. Open delivers noisy chaos, the rattle of New York's subways and the teeming crowds that joyfully ignore the idea that big-time tennis is supposed to unfold amid quiet.

Roland Garros's signature is the near limitless abandon with which the French fans unite behind anyone who plays under the bleu-blanc-rouge as the French standard is known. There are spontaneous renditions of the French national anthem, "La Marseillaise," as though they are at Humphrey Bogart's cafe in "Casablanca."

This happened after Pouille, once ranked 10th in the world and currently 675th following struggles with injuries and depression, beat Jurij Rodionov of Austria in the first round in waning light Sunday.

"It made me want to keep working to get back and experience it again," said Pouille, who stayed and listened to the serenade.

When a French player is on the court — any French player, on any court — there is a distinctly louder, higher-pitched and fuller sound that rises from the stands. It's like the crescendo of a symphony, over and over, hour after hour.

PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Young fans waited for an autograph from the teenage star Arthur Fils, who lost, on Monday.

JAMES HILL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Caroline Garcia won the crowd, but not the match, on Tuesday.

PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Fils, 18, will have many more opportunities to win the Open title.

Amazingly, it keeps going on even though the French have been mostly terrible at this event for a long while — or maybe that's why it happens. A Frenchman has not won the singles tournament since Yannick Noah in 1983, or made the final since Henri Leconte in 1988. A Frenchwoman has not won since Mary Pierce in 2000, which was also the last time the country was represented in the women's singles final.

Albert Camus, the French philosopher, famously wrote that we must consider Sisyphus, the Greek mythology figure, to be happy, even though he spends his life repeatedly pushing a rock uphill because "the struggle itself toward the heights is enough to fill a man's heart."

Camus would have made a perfect modern French tennis fan.

The zenith of this tournament for the French came Tuesday night as Gael Monfils, whose Gumby-like athleticism and ambivalent relationship with the sport have made him a tennis folk hero, came back from the brink to beat Sebastian Baez of Argentina in five sets.

Monfils, 36, who has been battling injuries and played little the past year, cramped so badly in the fifth set he could barely walk. He fell behind by 4-0, but the crowd never relented and willed him back to life. The roars at the main court, Philippe Chatrier, could be heard more than a mile away. It was obvious what was unfolding simply by opening a bedroom window.

Monfils told the crowd the victory was as much theirs as his after he prevailed, 3-6, 6-3, 7-5, 1-6, 7-5.

The ecstasy ride ended 24 hours later when Monfils called a late-night news conference to announce his withdrawal from the tournament because of a wrist injury.

It came at the end of an awful day for the French players, who dropped all their singles matches. That included Caroline Garcia, the fifth seed and the only seeded Frenchwoman.

Garcia had spoken earlier in the week of trying to capture the enthusiasm of the crowd and use it to her advantage. In the past, she has experienced it as pressure that has caused her to disappoint in front of the hometown fans. She has never made it past the quarterfinals.

"I try and take all of this energy," she had said of the support. "It's a great opportunity."

No such luck. Garcia was cruising, up a set and a break in her second-round match Wednesday against Anna Blinkova of Russia. But she tightened up and frittered away the lead. The crowd helped her draw even at 5-5 in the third set, rattling Blinkova into double faults as Garcia saved eight match points before she lost, 4-6, 6-3, 7-5.

"She managed the crowd very well and kept very calm," Garcia said of Blinkova.

There was more pain Thursday as French players lost their last three singles matches, but those uniquely throaty urgings were an accompaniment all the same. When the last Frenchman, Arthur Rinderknech, lost Thursday night to the ninth-seeded Taylor Fritz, the crowd booed Fritz so loudly he could not hear the questions during his on-court interview.

And a year from now, the French fans will push the rock up the hill again, and again, and again.

PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The bleu-blanc-rouge is a common sight at Roland Garros.

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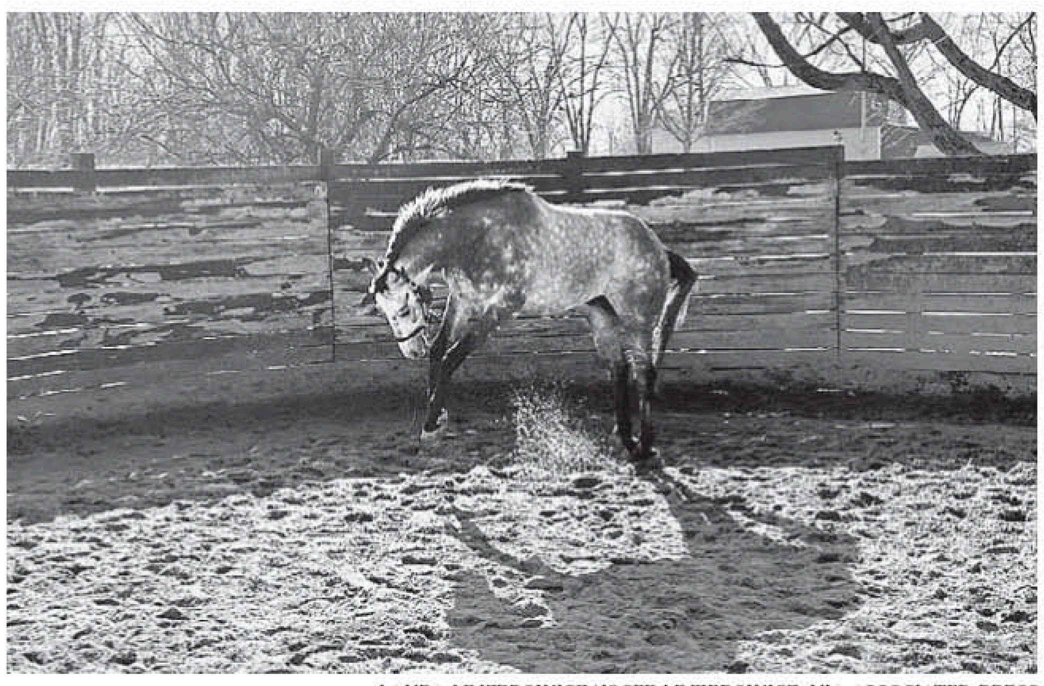
HORSE RACING

Churchill Downs Updates Policies To Keep Unsound Horses Off Track

By JOE DRAPE



LAURA LEJZEROWICZ/JOSEF LEJZEROWICZ, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Freezing Point, above at Keeneland in March, was one of 12 horses to suffer fatal injuries in recent weeks at Churchill Downs.

Churchill Downs, under scrutiny after 12 horses suffered fatal injuries in the past five weeks, on Thursday put in place measures meant to discourage trainers from running unsound horses.

The home of the Kentucky Derby will no longer offer incentives to trainers who start horses in its races or pay purse money for first place through last place, according to a statement from the company. Payouts instead will be limited to the top five finishers.

Horses also will be allowed only four starts during a rolling eight-week period and horses that are beaten by more than 12 lengths in five straight starts will be ineligible to race until the equine medical director approves their return.

The changes suggest Churchill believes its bonus policies, which were intended to provide fuller fields for the betting public, may have affected the decision making of horsemen.

On Saturday, for example, a 7-year-old mare named Kimberley Dream was making her 61st start in a $40,000 claiming race with only five starters. She had not been competitive in her five most recent starts, losing by 19 to 33 lengths. Kimberley Dream broke down in the upper stretch and was vanned off and euthanized.

Under the new rules, which are effective immediately, the mare would have been ineligible to enter the starting gate. The horse was owned and trained by Freddie D. Winston. He could not be reached for immediate comment.

The measures come after an emergency summit of veterinarians in Lexington, Ky., which was called by the Horseracing Integrity and Safety Authority to examine the spate of horse deaths — two of which occurred on the undercard of the Kentucky Derby on May 6. The deaths have cast a pall over the Triple Crown season, the few weeks each spring when casual sports fans have a heightened focus on horse racing.

Dr. Jennifer Durenberger, the authority's director of equine safety and welfare, met with veterinarians from Churchill Downs and the state of Kentucky to review necropsies, toxicology reports and veterinarians' and trainers' notes on the deaths.

On Thursday, shortly after the first race was run on Churchill's twilight card, the authority said that beginning on Saturday Dr. Durenberger would conduct an additional layer of post-entry screening to identify horses that might be at increased risk for injury. The review would include examining past performances and horses with more than 60 days without a timed workout or race, as well their medical histories for the last 30 days.

On Wednesday, Dennis Moore, a longtime California track superintendent, examined the racing surfaces at Churchill Downs and offered an independent analysis of the dirt and turf courses' suitability for racing. That review is ongoing, according to the authority, and his findings will be made public once it is concluded.

On Tuesday, Lisa Lazarus, the chief executive of the authority, said she was weighing whether to recommend to Churchill officials that they suspend racing to allow for further investigation. Lazarus was not available for comment.

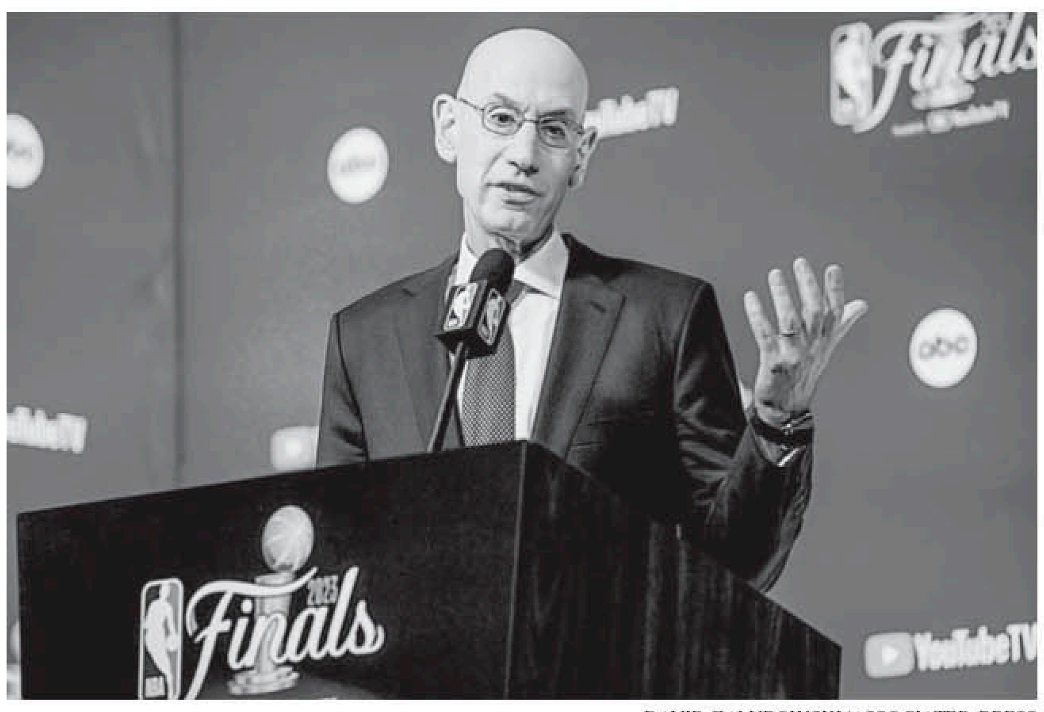
Kentucky-based trainers and veterinarians also met on Thursday with Dr. Ryan Carpenter, an equine surgeon from California who briefed them on advanced interventions that could be considered for certain injuries.

"We feel a duty to provide the latest information on surgical interventions from an expert who experienced the challenges in California a few years ago that we currently face today," said Dr. Will Farmer, the equine medical director for Churchill Downs Incorporated. "Any decision must be made first and foremost with the long-term well-being of the horse in mind."

PRO BASKETBALL | N.B.A. FINALS

League to Wait on Morant Decision

By SCOTT CACCIOLA



DAVID ZALUBOWSKI/ASSOCIATED PRESS

BRANDON DILL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Adam Silver said he did not plan to announce the results of the investigation of Ja Morant, left, until after the finals.

N.B.A. Commissioner Adam Silver on Thursday said that the league would wait until the conclusion of the finals to announce the findings of its latest investigation into the behavior of Memphis Grizzlies guard Ja Morant, as well as any potential discipline of him.

On May 13, Morant appeared to brandish a firearm in public for the second time in just over two months, prompting the investigation. Silver declined to say whether Morant would be available to play for the Grizzlies at the start of next season.

"I would say we probably could've brought it to a head now," Silver said at a news conference in Denver before Game 1 of the championship series between the Nuggets and the Miami Heat. "But we made the decision, and I believe the players' association agrees with us, that it would be unfair to these players and these teams in the middle of the series to announce the results of that investigation."

Morant is a two-time All-Star and already one of the league's most exciting players at 23 years old. In March, the N.B.A. suspended him for eight games without pay for conduct detrimental to the league after he appeared in an Instagram Live video "holding a firearm in an intoxicated state" while visiting a nightclub near Denver, according to a league statement. Soon after the video's streaming, Morant left the team and checked into a counseling facility in Florida. Following his return to the Grizzlies, Morant told reporters that he had spent his time at the facility learning how to better deal with stress and improve himself.

But last month, a new Instagram Live video appeared to show Morant flashing a gun, this time while riding in a vehicle. The Grizzlies, who had already been eliminated from the playoffs by the Los Angeles Lakers in the first round, quickly suspended Morant from all team activities pending the league's review of the video.

On Thursday, Silver said the league had "uncovered a fair amount of additional information," but he did not elaborate.

Silver was also asked whether he thought the league's initial eight-game suspension had sent a strong enough message to Morant. At the time, Silver said, Morant seemed "heartfelt and serious" in his conversations with league officials.

"But I think he understood that it wasn't about his words, that it was going to be about his future conduct," Silver said. "So, I guess, in hindsight, I don't know. If it had been a 12-game suspension instead of an eight-game suspension, would that have mattered?"

He added: "It seemed appropriate at the time. Maybe, by definition, to the extent — we've all seen the video. It appears he's done it again. So I guess you could say, maybe not. But I don't think we yet know what it will take to change his behavior."

The N.B.A. has penalized players for similar types of acts. During the 2009-10 season, for example, Gilbert Arenas of the Washington Wizards was suspended 50 games for bringing guns into the team's locker room, which violates league policy. Arenas, who was a three-time All-Star at the time, also appeared to make light of the situation by making finger gun gestures at a game while the league was still investigating his behavior.

Silver described Morant as "a fine young man" who has "clearly made some mistakes."

"But he's young," Silver said, "and I'm hoping now that once we conclude at the end of our process what the appropriate discipline is, that it's not just about the discipline, that it's about what we, the players' association, his team, and he and the people around him are going to do to create better circumstances going forward. I think that's what's ultimately most important here."

Sopan Deb contributed reporting from Denver.

WHAT TO WATCH

The March Toward Titles Hits The Homestretch

We're getting closer to crowning champions in pro hockey and basketball, while college softball is showcasing the best of its sport. Here's what I'll be watching (all times are Eastern). *SARA ZIEGLER*

HOCKEY

LYNNE SLADKY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

STANLEY CUP Matthew Tkachuk has been Mr. Clutch for the surging Florida Panthers.

Who will hoist the Stanley Cup? The Florida Panthers took down the Boston Bruins, who set the N.H.L. record for wins in the regular season, on their way to the finals. The Vegas Golden Knights are back in the finals for the second time in their six-season history. The teams start their battle on Saturday in Las Vegas (8 p.m., TNT).

BASKETBALL

CHARLES KRUPA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

N.B.A. FINALS Jimmy Butler and the Heat are the first No. 8 seed to reach the finals since 1999.

The Denver Nuggets got a long layoff after sweeping the Los Angeles Lakers; the Miami Heat got a much shorter rest after building a 3-0 series lead over the Celtics but then letting Boston force a Game 7. But no matter now: The N.B.A. finals began in Denver on Thursday with plenty of star power and interesting story lines. (Game 2, Sunday, 8 p.m., ABC).

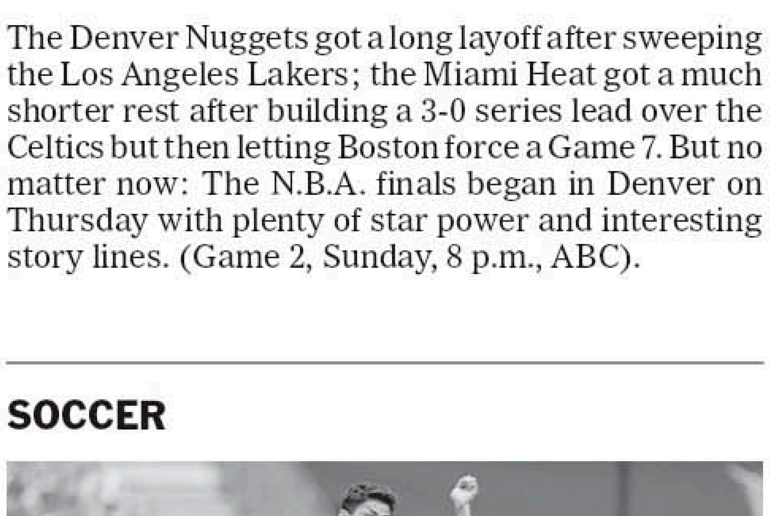
SOFTBALL

NATE BILLINGS/ASSOCIATED PRESS

COLLEGE WORLD SERIES Tennessee's Destiny Rodriguez scoring on Alabama's Ally Shipman.

The Women's College World Series is taking over Oklahoma City this week, with the familiar forces Oklahoma and Oklahoma State feeling right at home. They're joined by Alabama, Florida State, Stanford, Tennessee, Utah and Washington. The winners from the four opening games on Thursday will meet in two Saturday games (3 p.m., ABC; 7 p.m., ESPN).

SOCCER



DARRYL DYCK/THE CANADIAN PRESS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

M.L.S. Fredy Montero and the Seattle Sounders will take on the Portland Timbers at home.

Pacific Northwest rivals are facing off in an M.L.S.-N.W.S.L. doubleheader. First up, the Seattle Sounders will host the Portland Timbers (Saturday, 4:30 p.m., Fox), before the O.L. Reign (also based in Seattle) take the field to host the Portland Thorns (Saturday, 8 p.m., CBS Sports Network).

TENNIS

CHRISTOPHE ENA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

FRENCH OPEN The American Jessica Pegula is seeking her first Grand Slam singles title.

The singles draws get more compelling as the French Open approaches the halfway point. In the women's third round, the American Jessica Pegula, who is seeded third, will face the 28th-seeded Elise Mertens (Friday, 5:45 a.m., Tennis Channel). On the men's side, Carlos Alcaraz, the No. 1 seed, should get a strong test from the 26th-seeded Denis Shapo-

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MARSHAL/ SHERIFF SALES

3650

MARSHAL EXECUTION SALE
PUBLIC AUCTION
RE: Parking Violations Vs Various Judgment Debtors I Will Sell At Public Auction For City Marshal Ileana Rivera or any associate Marshal By Arthur Vigar Auctioneer on Tuesday, June 6, 2023 At 10:00AM At Five J's Towing 4825 Baldwin Street, Bronx, New York, 10470
All R/T/I in & to the Following Vehicles:

99 FORD	1FTRE14W4XHB86084
06 HONDA	5FNRL38616B007753
11 NISSAN	1N4AL2AP2BN433401
16 FORD	3FADP4BJ2GM140641
08 MITSUB	4A4MN31S18E031382
02 HONDA	2HGES26832H603887
07 HONDA	JHLRE48517C108154
07 NISSAN	1N4AL21E67C218668
04 GMC	1GKET16S246142627
12 CADILLAC	3GYFNBE34CS547399
04 ACURA	JH4KA96684C007447
01 CHEVR	1GAGG29RX11178882
03 HONDA	5J6YH28523L024630
07 CADILLAC	1G6DP577X70164804
04 TOYOTA	5TDZA23C74S188539
09 HYUNDAI	KMHDU46D09U660886
17 TOYOTA	4T1BF1FK3HU321732
Following Vehicles Sold With Liens	
18 MITSUB	JA4AP3AU1JZ024723
16 HONDA	2HKRM4H53GH671775
17 FORD	3FA6P0H79HR196853
08 JEEP	1J8GN58K68W237287
23 KIA	3KPF24AD7PE519514
13 CADILLAC	1G6AG5RX0D0158988
16 MINI	WMWXP7C53G2A43935
14 MAZDA	JM1BM1W72E1154458
04 TOYOTA	2T1BR32E34C301298
19 V W	3VWC57BU3KM012373
16 NISSAN	1N4AL3AP7GC256689
18 AUDI	WA1VAAF70JD033226
16 NISSAN	1N4AA6APXGC903612
18 NISSAN	JN8AT2MV1JW307693
16 CHEVR	1G1ZE5ST2GF241572
13 JEEP	1C4NJDEB4DD221684
19 NISSAN	JN1BJ1CR3KW348920
18 JEEP	1C4PJMCB7JD599098
20 HONDA	2HKRW2H50LH671502
19 MAZDA	JM3KFBCM3K0660948
Following Vehicle Sold As Salvage	
13 NISSAN LIEN	JN1AR5EF8DM261172
04 ACURA	19UUA66227A039366
09BMW	5UXFE835X9L310121
08SUBURU	4S4WX93D584401150

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City Marshal Ileana Rivera
Phone(718)238-7770

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19 JEEP (Lien)	1C4RJFBG6KC701855
16 JEEP (Lien)	1C4NJPBB5GD537203
16 KIA (Lien)	5XYPKDA14GG108794
18 HONDA (Lien)	SHHFK7H74JU408128
15 DODG (Lien)	2C3CDXBG6FH840555
17 NISSA (Lien)	3N1AB7AP0HY329014
11 MINI (Lien)	WMWZF3C56BTY00976
17 JEEP (Lien)	1C4HJWDG4HL754975
10 ACURA	19UUA9F25AA001959
14 HOND (Lien)	5J6RM4H71EL050619
10 HOND (Lien)	1HGCP3F82AA017094
17 JEEP (Lien)	1C4NJDEB6HD168427
14 TOYOT (Lien)	2T1BURHE9EC133273
19 NISSA (Lien)	1N4BL4BV5KC131156
16 Me/Be (Lien)	WDDHF8JB9GB179692
07 HONDA	JHMGD38467S066738
04 FORD	1FBSS31L54HB37234
04 ACURA	19UUA66294A038760
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08 LINCOLN	2LMDU88C58BJ09647
11 HONDA	1HGCP2F83BA013812
04 JEEP	1J4GW48S34C180924
07 BMW	4USFE83587LY63181
11 NISSAN	5N1AR1NB7BC604412
15 NISSA (Lien)	1N4AL3AP6FN885105
17 JEEP (Lien)	1C4NJCBA7HD123311
03 TOYOT	5TDBT44A63S195856
07 ACURA	19UUA66257A023497
15 FORD	3FADP4EJ4FM204429
99 TOYOT	JT2BF28K8X0151180
98 HONDA	2HGEJ8546WH599098
00 TOYOT (Sal)	JT3GP10VXY7073086
08 AUDI	WAUKH74F28N021940
05 NISSA	5N1BV28U75N102656
12 VW (Lien)	WVGAV7AX4CW574852
06 MITSU	JL6CCH1S16K003335
13 FORD	1FTNE2EL1DDA33481
06 AUDI	WAUDH74F86N178975
07 VOLVO	YV1RS592872642218
08 TOYO (R/B Sal)	JTEES43A382061530
08 AUDI	WAURV78T18A020907
05 TOYOT	5TDZA23C95S324591
16 LEXUS (Lien)	JTHSM5BC1G5000943
18 NISSA (Lien)	3N1AB7AP8JY332149
98 FORD	1FDWE37S2WHB43669
05 CHRYS	2C4GP54L85R501839
16 TOYOT (Lien)	JTDZN3EU0GJ052044
07 DODGE	23KA43G47H640581
08 NISSA	JN8AS58V88W136174
17 TOYOT	4T1BF1FK5HU359334
08 NISSA(R/B Sal)	1N4AL21E58N451141
18 FORD	1FBAX2XM7JKA12760
09 TOYOT	JTDKB20UX97873390
03 TOYOT	2T1CE22P63C021191

Linda Swift City Marshal #77

AUCTION SALES

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UCC Public Sale Notice

Please take notice that Newmark ("**Newmark**"), on behalf of 100 MILE PLAZA GRANDE LLC, a New Jersey limited liability company (the "**Secured Party**"), offers for sale at public auction on **Thursday, June 15, 2023, at 9:00 a.m. (Eastern Time)** at the offices of Cole Schotz P.C., 25 Main Street, Court Plaza North, Hackensack, New Jersey 07601, and also being broadcast for remote participation via virtual videoconference, in connection with a Uniform Commercial Code sale, 100% of the limited liability company membership interests (the "**Interests**") in TSV PLAZA GRANDE, LLC, a Delaware limited liability company (the "**Borrower**"), which is the sole owner of the property commonly known as The Plaza Grande at Garden State Park Condominium located in Cherry Hill, New Jersey (the "**Property**"). The Interests are currently owned by TSV/TGA-Garden State Park Company, LLC, a Delaware limited liability company (the "**Pledgor**").

The Secured Party, as lender, made a loan (the "**Loan**") to the Pledgor. In connection with the Loan, the Pledgor granted to the Secured Party a first priority lien on the Interests pursuant to that certain Pledge and Security Agreement, dated as of August 23, 2021 (the "**Pledge Agreement**"). The Secured Party is offering the Interests for sale in connection with the foreclosure on the pledge of such Interests.

The sale of the Interests will be subject to all applicable third-party consents and regulatory approvals, if any, and the outstanding balance due on the Loan pursuant to the terms of the Loan Documents. Without limitation to the foregoing, please take notice that there are specific requirements for any potential successful bidder in connection with (i) obtaining information and (ii) bidding on the Interests, including but not limited to, that each bidder must deliver such documents and pay such amounts as required by the applicable governing documents relating to the Interests and meeting any requirements shall be at the sole risk, cost, and expense of a prospective bidder.

The Interests are being offered as a single lot, "as-is, where-is", with no express or implied warranties, representations, statements or conditions of any kind made by the Secured Party or any person acting for or on behalf of the Secured Party, without any recourse whatsoever to the Secured Party or any other person acting for or on behalf of the Secured Party and each bidder must make its own inquiry regarding the Interests. The winning bidder shall be responsible for the payment of all transfer taxes, stamp duties and similar taxes incurred in connection with the purchase of the Interests.

Secured Party reserves the right to credit bid, set a minimum reserve price, reject all bids (including, without limitation, any bid that it deems to have been made by a bidder that is unable to satisfy the requirements imposed by Secured Party upon prospective bidders in connection with the sale or to whom in Secured Party's sole judgment a sale may not lawfully be made), terminate or adjourn the sale to another time, without further notice, and to sell the Interests at a subsequent public or private sale and to impose any other commercially reasonable conditions upon the sale of the Interests as Secured Party may deem proper. Secured Party further reserves the right to determine the qualifications of any bidder, including a prospective bidder's ability to close the transaction on the terms and conditions referenced herein and to modify these terms of sale. Secured Party further reserves the right to verify that each certificate for the Interests to be sold bears a legend substantially to the effect that such interests have not been registered under the Securities Act of 1933, as amended (the "**Securities Act**"), and to impose such other limitations or conditions in connection with the sale of the Interests as the Secured Party deems necessary or advisable in order to comply with the Securities Act or any other applicable law.

All bids (other than credit bids of the Secured Party) must be for cash, and the successful bidder must be prepared to deliver immediately available good funds within ten (10) days after the sale and otherwise comply with the bidding requirements. Further information concerning the Interests, the Data Room, the requirements for bidding on the interests, and the Terms of Sale can be found at Revere Data Site or by contacting Newmark using the contact information below

Contact Information for Newmark:
Attn: Jessica Merritt
Tel: 212-850-5452
E-mail: Jessica.Merritt@nmrk.com

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The New York Times

NOTICE OF ADJOURNED PUBLIC AUCTION OF 100% OF THE LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANYINTERESTS IN OFFICE AT SOUTHPORT LLC

PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that, in accordance with applicable provisions of the Uniform Commercial Code as enacted in New York, SP Office Funding, L.P. ("Secured Party") will sell all of the limited liability company interests (the "Collateral") held by Office Tech LLC in and to Office at Southport LLC (the "Pledged Entity") to the highest qualified bidder at a public sale. The public sale, which was previously scheduled for June 2, 2023, has been rescheduled to take place beginning at 2:00 p.m. Eastern Standard Time (New York) on June 6, 2023, both in person and remotely outside the New York Supreme Court located at 60 Centre Street New York, New York 10007, with access afforded in person and remotely via Zoom or other web-based video conferencing and/or telephonic conferencing program selected by Secured Party. Remote log in credentials will be provided to registered bidders. Secured Party's understanding is that the principal asset of Office at Southport LLC is the real property located at 1101, 1103 and 1107 Lake Washington Boulevard North, Renton, WA 98056 commonly known as Southport Office Park. The Collateral will be sold to the highest qualified bidder; provided, however, that Secured Party reserves the right to cancel the sale in its entirety, or to adjourn the sale to a future date by announcement made at the time and place scheduled for the public sale. The Collateral will be sold as a single lot, and will not be divided or sold in any lesser amounts. Interested parties who intend to bid on the above Collateral must contact Brock Cannon of Newmark Knight Frank at (212) 372-2066, brock.cannon@nmrk.com, to receive the Terms of Public Sale and bidding instructions. Upon execution of a standard non-disclosure agreement, additional documentation and information will be made available. Interested parties who do not contact the Secured Party and qualify prior to the public sale will not be permitted to enter a bid or participate at the public sale either in person or remotely..

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Amitai Etzioni, 94, Who Envisioned Society Built on Community, Is Dead

By ROBERT D. McFADDEN

Amitai Etzioni, the Israeli-American sociologist who drew wide attention and storms of derision by fathering the Communitarian movement, a vision of society in which people are asked to care less about their own rights than about one another and the common good, died on Wednesday at his home in Washington. He was 94.

The death was confirmed by his son David.

Born to German-Jewish parents who fled from Hitler to Palestine, Mr. Etzioni fought for Israeli independence, moved to the United States in 1957 and became an influential academic and political figure. He wrote prodigiously, taught at George Washington University, testified before Congress and advised presidents, prime ministers and other Western leaders on foreign and national policies.

Barely a decade after landing in America, Mr. Etzioni was famous, writing books and articles far afield from the turgid corners of sociology — provocative commentaries on the nuclear arms race, European security, the Vietnam War, America's racial and educational problems, energy and inflation policies and popular worries over pornography, student unrest and topics ranging from sex therapy to Hollywood hoopla.

"Sometimes Amitai Etzioni seems to be a one-man profession," Time magazine said.

He was appointed to commissions and advisory panels, invited to join editorial boards and television debates and showered with fellowships, awards and honorary degrees. He argued with Wernher von Braun on the Soviet-American space race, helped Betty Friedan in 1974 start an Economic Think Tank for Women, as it was called, to consider women's "hidden economic power," and was invited to lead a state investigation of a nursing home scandal in New York involving substandard conditions.

But of all Mr. Etzioni's pursuits, none hit home with greater force than "communitarianism," which he named, interpreted and promoted for two decades, starting in the early 1990s. It was not novel — liberals and conservatives had debated an unnamed middle ground for decades — but it captured imaginations with its sermonizing, political rhetoric and dashes of old-fashioned needlepoint virtues.

Communitarianism, with its emphasis on community, not the individual, staked out ground between liberal advocates of civil liberties and welfare rights on one hand, and conservative champions of laissez-faire economics and traditional values on the other. It never became a mainstream political movement, but it won significant followings in America and Europe.

Though the idea seemed simple, its implications spread out in all directions. Individual liberty and equality were the foundations, he said, but these depended on the good character of people who willingly embraced the responsibilities of citizenship. These, in turn, depended on

AGENCJA FOTOGRAFICZNA CARO/ALAMY

Amitai Etzioni in 2009.

healthy communities and institutions like the family, schools, neighborhoods, unions, local governments and religious and ethnic groups.

And its principles could be applied to larger national and international issues — a "communitarian" view of military and defense postures, federal spending priorities, educational goals, even East-West nuclear arms controls. After all, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Soviet bloc were "communities," and it all came down to people being good citizens.

He advised American presidents and other Western leaders.

"Strong rights presume strong responsibilities," Mr. Etzioni told The New York Times in 1992, not long after issuing a "Communitarian Platform" signed by educators, economists, political leaders and feminists. "We hold that law and order can be restored without turning this country of the free into a police state," the platform declared.

It called the family a "moral anchor" of society, and suggested extended child-care and parental leave benefits, flexible working hours and tougher divorce laws. It proposed more self-discipline and checks on misbehavior; national service for young people, wider participation in jury duty and military service; and an emphasis on orderly conduct enforced by the police.

In "The Limits of Privacy" (1999), Mr. Etzioni argued that infants should be tested for H.I.V. because their health was more important than a mother's privacy; that governments should be allowed to break encryption codes to expose terrorists and pedophiles; and that a universal identity system would help catch illegal immigrants, tax evaders and deadbeat dads.

Controversies quickly arose. Communitarians criticized liberals, saying they ignored the importance of personal responsibility and reflexively blamed economic and political forces for poverty, drug abuse, crime and urban blight. Similarly, they criticized conservatives, saying they ignored corrosive economic pressures on families and communities and reflexively exalted free markets and self-interest as remedies for social problems.

Liberal critics called communitarianism a cloak for authoritarianism, and a throwback to the Moral Majority of the 1950s.

"A lot of communitarian rhetoric appears to emphasize voluntary measures," Nadine Strossen, president of the American Civil Liberties Union, told The Times. "But the rhetoric is very slippery when it involves government in creating legal obstacles to divorce, indoctrinating through public schools or giving police more leeway to search suspects."

Conservatives argued that communitarian ideas undermined individual rights by dictating boundaries of personal behavior and enforcing conformity through churches, public schools, national service and other coercive pressures disguised as campaigns of public spiritedness.

"The suspicion of charlatanism hangs over Etzioni," The New Statesman, a progressive British journal, said in 1997. "It is, perversely, a measure of his extraordinary success. His communitarian movement, founded in 1990 by a handful of academics, has grown into a body of work and attitudes that have inserted themselves everywhere into the policy debates of the U.S., the U.K. and more widely, and it has achieved for Etzioni the status of a modern seer."

Mr. Etzioni wrote for The New York Times, The Washington Post and other publications. He founded the Communitarian Network and its magazine, The Responsive Community. In 1995, he became president of the American Sociological Association.

At the peak of his influence, Mr. Etzioni conferred with President Bill Clinton, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany and Prime Minister Jan Peter Balkenende of the Netherlands. He also met twice with Barack Obama when Mr. Obama was a presidential candidate.

In an essay in The American Scholar in 2014, Mr. Etzioni, referring to Mr. Obama, recalled: "In his book 'The Audacity of Hope,' he emphasized that individual rights must be balanced with social responsibilities. However, since he became president, communitarianism has been the philosophy that dare not speak its name." Mr. Obama "has often drawn on its principles," he said, but "never mentions communitarianism."

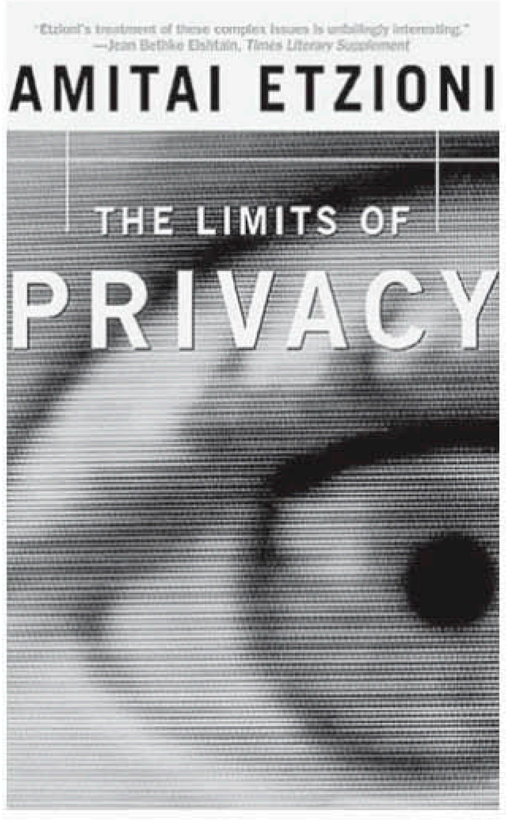
He was born Werner Falk in Cologne, Germany, on Jan. 4, 1929, to Willi and Gertrude (Hanauer) Falk. He recalled being beaten by children who learned he was Jewish. When he was 6, the family escaped to Athens, then to Palestine, where he grew up on a kibbutz and changed his name to Amitai Etzioni (Amitai means truth in Hebrew).

He left home as a teenager to join the Palmach, a Jewish underground defense force, and became a brigade commander involved in paramilitary actions before Israeli statehood. In 1948, he fought in Israel's war of independence, and two years later began sociology studies at Hebrew University in Jerusalem. He earned a bachelor's degree in 1954 and a master's in 1956.

PAUL HOSEFROS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Etzioni in 1989. A wide-ranging public intellectual, he weighed in on topics such as the nuclear arms race and sex therapy and once oversaw a state panel investigating a nursing home.

ARTHUR BROWER/THE NEW YORK TIMES



Mr. Etzioni, left, in the late 1960s. He wrote more than 30 books. "The Limits of Privacy" was published in 1999.

In 1953, he married Eva Horowitz. They had two sons, Ethan and Oren, and were divorced. In 1965, he married Minerva Morales, and had three more sons: Michael, David and Benjamin. His second wife died in a car crash in 1985. In 1992, Mr. Etzioni married Patricia Kellogg.

In addition to David, he is survived by his wife; his sons Ethan, Oren and Benjamin; a stepson, Cliff Kellogg; a stepdaughter, Tamara Kellogg; 11 grandchildren; and two step-granddaughters. His son Michael died in 2006. Mr. Etzioni and his wife lived at the Watergate complex in Washington.

Emigrating to the United States, he earned a doctorate at the University of California at Berkeley in 1958. He began teaching at Columbia University and writing books on social change and international affairs. By 1967 he was a full professor, and from 1969 to 1978 was chairman of Columbia's Institute for War and Peace Studies.

He became a senior adviser to President Jimmy Carter in 1979 and in 1980 joined George Washington University, where he continued to write and teach international affairs for more than 30 years, becoming director of its Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies.

He wrote more than 30 books, including "The Active Society" (1968), "The Spirit of Community: The Reinvention of American Society" (1993), "My Brother's Keeper: A Memoir and a Message" (2003), "How Patriotic is the Patriot Act: Freedom Versus Security in the Age of Terrorism" (2004) and "Reclaiming Patriotism" (2019).

Communitarian ideas have had a modest revival in recent years in some intellectual circles, but even so, in his 2014 article in The American Scholar, Mr. Etzioni expressed concern that the school of thought he founded would be done in less by criticisms than by the fatal condition of being ignored by the wider public.

"Despite my confidence that the message I have hammered out would do the world a lot of good," he wrote, "no one seems to be listening."

Alex Traub contributed reporting.

Deaths

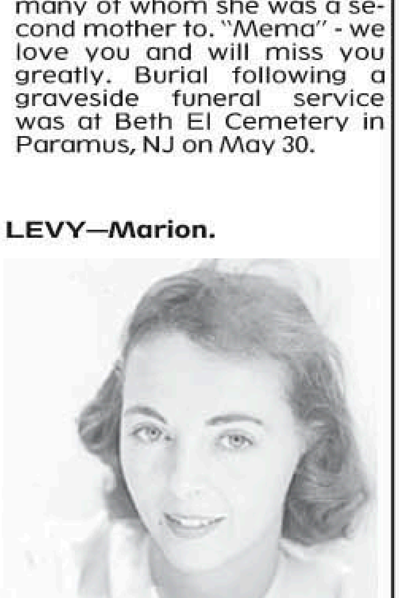
Cooper, Isolde
Gordon, Jay
Levitz, Catherine
Levy, Marion
Nadel, Norman
Nelson, Harry
Spielman, Phyllis
Wagner, Robin
Weber, Stephen
Worth, Robert

COOPER—Dr. Isolde Kurz, passed away on May 19, 2023 after a short illness. Born in Stuttgart, Germany, Isolde received her doctorate in jurisprudence at the Eberhard Karls University of Tubingen. Isolde was an attorney with over 50 years' experience in both the US and Germany, most notably as in-house counsel for Avon Products, Inc. from 1973 to 2001. She is survived by her son, Daniel Cooper, and her grandson, Benjamin Cooper.

GORDON—Jay, former Mayor and lifelong resident of Lawrence, NY, died on May 28th in Albany. Husband of Barbara and the later Eleanor. Devoted father of Amy Solomon, Irving Gordon, Cindy Finkelstein and he late Patricia Gordon. Proud grandfather of ten and great-grandfather of 12.

LEVITZ—Catherine (nee Blum), died peacefully on May 26, 2023, in Wayland, MA. Born in Germany on July 16, 1924, she emigrated to New York City in 1939. She received her MSW from the Columbia School of Social Work and worked at the Jewish Child Care Association. She married the late Mortimer Levitz in 1947, a marriage that lasted over 70 years. She moved to Wayland, MA in 2019. She is survived by her brother Herbert, children Ellen and Stuart, granddaughters Celeste, Alyson, Zara, and Talya, and numerous other family members and friends, many of whom she was a second mother to. "Mema" - we love you and will miss you greatly. Burial following a graveside funeral service was at Beth El Cemetery in Paramus, NJ on May 30.

LEVY—Marion.



Marion Fennelly Levy "Penny", age 98. Died peacefully in her sleep on May 18, 2023, a little more than a year after the death of her beloved husband of 69 years, Gerald Levy. She was the daughter of Pauline and James Fennelly and the mother of Alison Ryan of Earlysville, VA, Liz Levy Ward of Atlanta, GA, and Robert Levy of Bethesda, MD. A proud graduate of Christopher Columbus High School, Cornell University (BA), and Sarah Lawrence College (MA), she worked in public relations for Lord and Taylor, but most of her career was focused on family planning and women's health issues. As the Director of Women's Programs and Family Planning at Save the Children, she traveled extensively in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America, and her experiences formed the basis for her book "Each in Her Own Way: Five Women Leaders of the Developing World." She served as Chair of the Board of Planned Parenthood of New York City, and as a board member of Save the Children, the Alan Guttmacher Institute, FINCA, the Experiment in International Living, and Citizens for Family Planning. She was an Adjunct Professor in the Women's Studies and Anthropology Department at Hunter College. Penny was an accomplished cook, an avid gardener (specializing in roses), and a voracious reader (who read The New York Times, The Atlantic, The Week, The New Yorker and The Economist until her last days). Friends and family remember her as a strong, smart, and passionate woman, devoted to the cause of women's rights and a loyal friend to many. She will be sorely missed.

NADEL—Norman, of Hartsdale, NY, on May 30, 2023 at age 91. Attorney at law. Survived by daughters Melissa Weissman and Victoria Nadel and brother Joshua and his wife Liz. Beloved by son-in-law Steven Weissman and three grandchildren: Nicole, Lauren, and Brendan. Predeceased by wives Ilene and Sandra and brother, Lawrence. Donations in his memory may be made to the Anti-Defamation League.

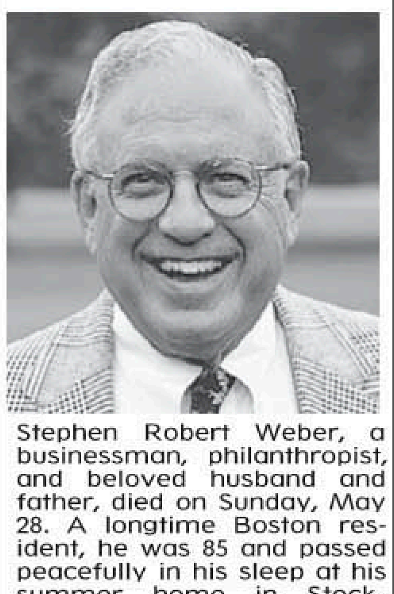
NELSON—Harry B.

Harry B. Nelson, 103, of Fort Meyers FL, passed away peacefully on May 21, 2023. Harry was born in Brooklyn, NY and grew up in the Bay Ridge neighborhood of Brooklyn. Born to Swedish immigrants, Edward and Signe Nelson, he was a proud Swedish American and often spoke glowingly of his Swedish ancestors and heritage. Harry graduated high school in Brooklyn, and later went on to receive an associates degree from CCNY. Harry had a 47-year career in public service, first as a New York State Trooper for 26-years, where he reached the rank of Major, followed by a 21-year career with the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration as a Regional Director responsible for the New York, New England and Puerto Rico regions. He has the distinction of being the oldest surviving member of the retired New York State Troopers. Harry served during World War II in the U.S. Navy. Harry was greatly loved by all that had met him. His firm handshake and smile welcomed everyone into his life. Many have commented on his passing that he never appeared in a bad mood, and was in fact the most positive, friendly and loving person they have ever met. His glass was always half full, never without a kind word and pat on the back. Harry was a dedicated gym rat his whole life and credited his longevity to daily exercise. He played 4-wall handball until the age of 88 and golf well into his 90s. He loved family vacations in Cape Cod and jogging on the beach each morning. Harry married the love of his life, Mary Ruth Flood of Patterson, NY in 1944. She predeceased him in 2016. He is survived by his sons, James, Harry and Thomas, and his daughter-in-law Sydney Starkweather and grandchildren, Brendon, Scott, Kristen, Greta and Meghan, four great - grandchildren and many nieces and nephews. His grandchildren and their children were always the first thing on his mind and the last before bed. Valhalla has welcomed him with open arms.

SPIELMAN—Phyllis Roberts. It is with great sadness that the Spielman and Turkel families announce that Phyllis Roberts Spielman died peacefully at her home on Tuesday, May 30th. Funeral services will be held on Sunday, June 4th at 10:30am at Congregation Beth Elohim in Park Slope, Brooklyn.

WAGNER—Robin. The Public Theater mourns the passing of Robin Wagner, a great artist, wonderful friend, and vitally important member of The Public's family. Robin served The Public as a board member and honorary council for over 30 years and will be remembered for his many iconic set designs of The Public Theater productions including A CHORUS LINE and HAIR. We offer our condolences to Robin's family and loved ones.
Oskar Eustis, Artistic Director;
Patrick Willingham, Executive Director;
Luis A. Miranda, Jr., Board Chair

WEBER—Stephen.



Stephen Robert Weber, a businessman, philanthropist, and beloved husband and father, died on Sunday, May 28. A longtime Boston resident, he was 85 and passed peacefully in his sleep at his summer home in Stockbridge, MA. He was born in Kansas City, MO, the son of the late Bertram and Leah Weber. He attended Southwest High School in Kansas City, and graduated as an engineering major from the University of Pennsylvania in 1960. Two years later, he earned an MBA from the Harvard Business School, where he was a Baker Scholar. He began his business career at Waddell & Reed, moved on to G.S. Grumman & Associates, and then to Jennison Associates. He returned to Grumman, which became Cowen & Company and then SG-Cowen Securities Corp. He retired as managing director of SG-Cowen in 2005. A generous benefactor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, he was elected a Trustee of the BSO in 2002 and served as vice chair from 2010 to 2015. In 2017, he became a Life Trustee. He had a particular love for Tanglewood, the BSO's summer home in the Berkshires, just down the road from his home in Stockbridge. In addition to classical music, he enjoyed contemporary art, and served as Board Chair of the Institute of Contemporary Art at the University of Pennsylvania. He was an avid fan of Boston professional sports teams. He leaves his wife of 55 years, Dr. Dorothy Altman Weber; daughter, Meredith Weber Blitstein and son-in-law Alexander Blitstein of Somerville; and brother-in-law, Dr. Lawrence K. Altman of New York City. Funeral services will be held on Friday, June 2, 2023 at 1pm at Levine Chapels (470 Harvard St, Brookline, MA). Burial will follow at the Sharon Memorial Park in Sharon, MA. Visiting hours will be held at the Weber residence in Boston: after graveside services until 8pm on Friday; on Saturday from 7:30pm- 9:30pm; and on Sunday from 1pm-4:30pm and 7-9pm. They will continue at the Weber residence in Stockbridge from 4-8pm on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made to the Boston Symphony Orchestra www.bso.org); Combined Jewish Philanthropies (www.ma.cjp.org); and 18 Degrees - Kids 4 Harmony (www.18degreesma.org/how-we-help/kids-4-harmony

WEBER—Stephen R. Financial Square Partners mourns the loss of Stephen R Weber, a guiding force in the development of Cowen & Company and its research products. Steve's unwavering dedication and contributions to Cowen & Co and his community were invaluable. His legacy will continue to inspire those who had the privilege of working with him. We extend our deepest sympathies to his family and loved ones.

WORTH—Robert R., died on Tuesday, May 30 at his home in Manhattan at age 92. A full obituary to follow.

In Memoriam

SAUNDERS—Thomas A. III In remembrance of your 87th birthday. Dearly loved, forever missed.
Jordan

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS: Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

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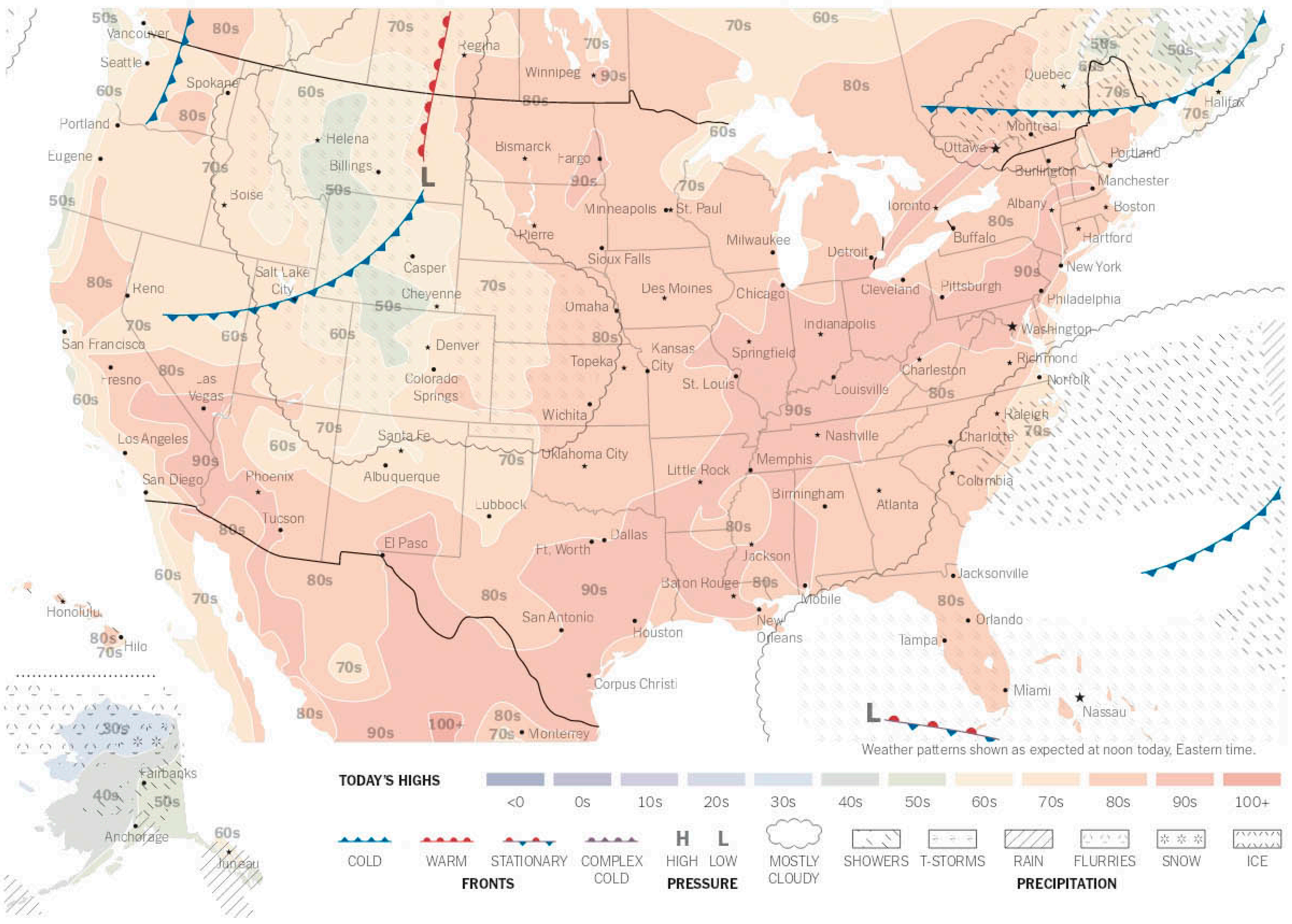
Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Mostly sunny and hot

High 90. Look for mostly sunny conditions and high temperatures throughout the day as high pressure remains. The wind will be light.

TONIGHT ....Stray thunderstorms

Low 62. Clouds will build during the early evening and temperatures will drop from their daytime highs. There will be thunderstorms across the region as high pressure slips away.

TOMORROW .... Cloudy

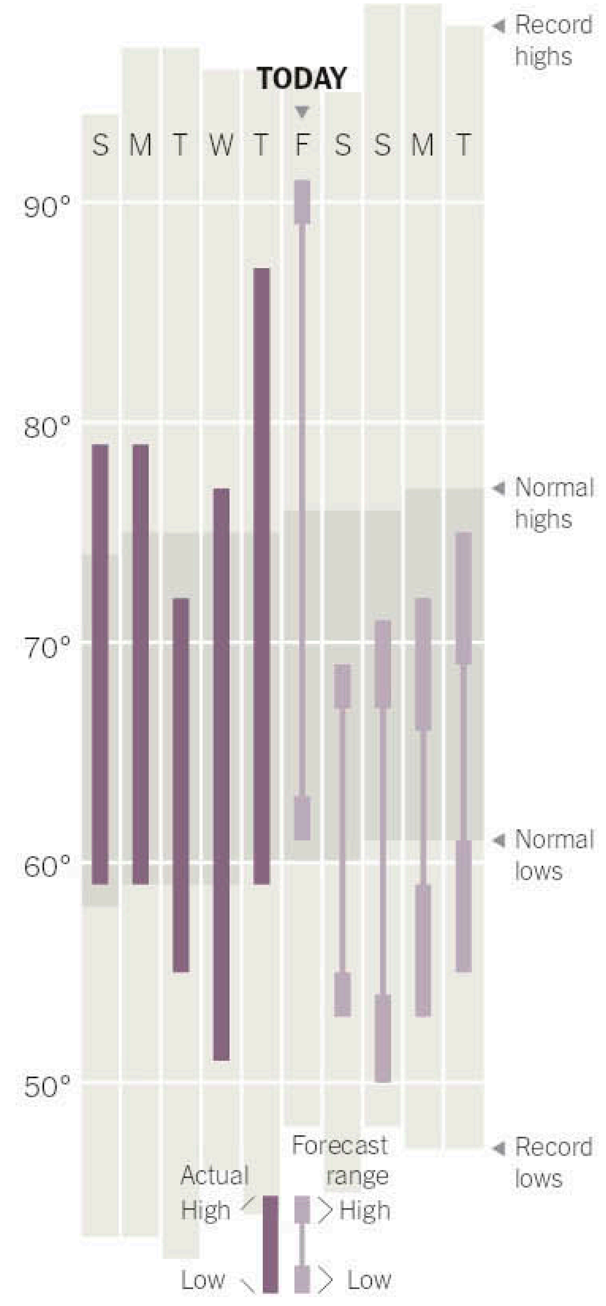
High 68. Clouds and much lower temperatures will hang around in the wake of a front that passed during the night. The winds will be 10 to 20 m.p.h.

SUNDAY ....Variable clouds

Cool weather will remain in the area with dry conditions. Look for peaks of sunshine through the day. Winds will be 6 to 12 m.p.h. High 69.

MONDAY TUESDAY ....Cooler with some sunshine

High pressure will slowly erode during the start of the workweek leading to a partly sunny sky on Monday. High 69. Tuesday, rain will move in. High 72.



Highlight: Tropical Downpours For Florida

An area of disturbed weather from the Gulf of Mexico to the Bahamas will continue to produce widespread showers and drenching thunderstorms across the Florida peninsula into Saturday. There is the potential for localized urban and flash flooding. There will be roughs surf and strong rip currents along the Gulf Coast and Atlantic beaches. Conditions will slowly improve on Sunday.

National Forecast

Heat will extend from the Northeast to the Midwest today with abundant sunshine for most locations. Humidity levels will be much lower than the middle of the summer. As cool air masses in eastern Canada, thunderstorms will move into northern New England. Clouds and spotty showers will dot the coastal Carolinas.

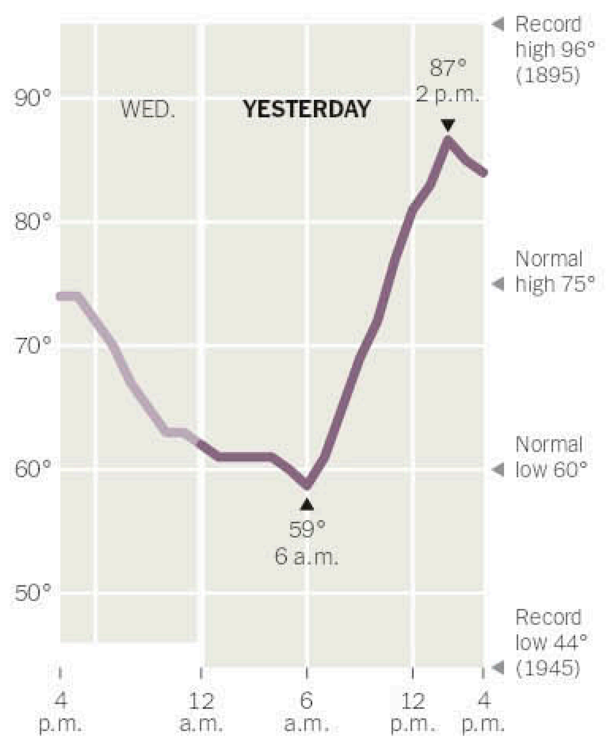
On the edge of cool air in the West and hot air over the Plains, thunderstorms will erupt over portions of the Plains and Rockies from Texas to Montana and Idaho. Some storms will become severe with high winds, large hail and flash flooding. Most of the Pacific Coast states will be dry with patchy low clouds near the beaches.

Thunderstorms are expected in Florida as a tropical system brews in the Gulf.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature



Avg. daily departure from normal this month .... +5.4°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.0°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 96%
Est. normal 99%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 2.60

For the last 30 days
Actual 0.94
Normal 3.89

For the last 365 days
Actual 44.59
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure

High .... 30.17 1 a.m.
Low .... 30.05 4 p.m.

Humidity

High .... 83% 1 a.m.
Low .... 25% 2 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday.. 8
So far this month.................................. 8
So far this season (since January 1) 94
Normal to date for the season 85

Trends

		Temperature Average (Below / Above)	Precipitation Average (Below / Above)
Last	10 days		
	30 days		
	90 days		
	365 days		

Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter
June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10	June 18 12:37 a.m.	June 26

Sun	RISE	5:27 a.m.	**Moon**	S	4:07 a.m.
	SET	8:22 p.m.		R	7:07 p.m.
	NEXT R	5:26 a.m.		S	4:42 a.m.
Jupiter	R	3:36 a.m.	**Mars**	R	9:38 a.m.
	S	5:05 p.m.		S	12:09 a.m.
Saturn	R	1:24 a.m.	**Venus**	R	8:41 a.m.
	S	12:17 p.m.		S	11:42 p.m.

Boating

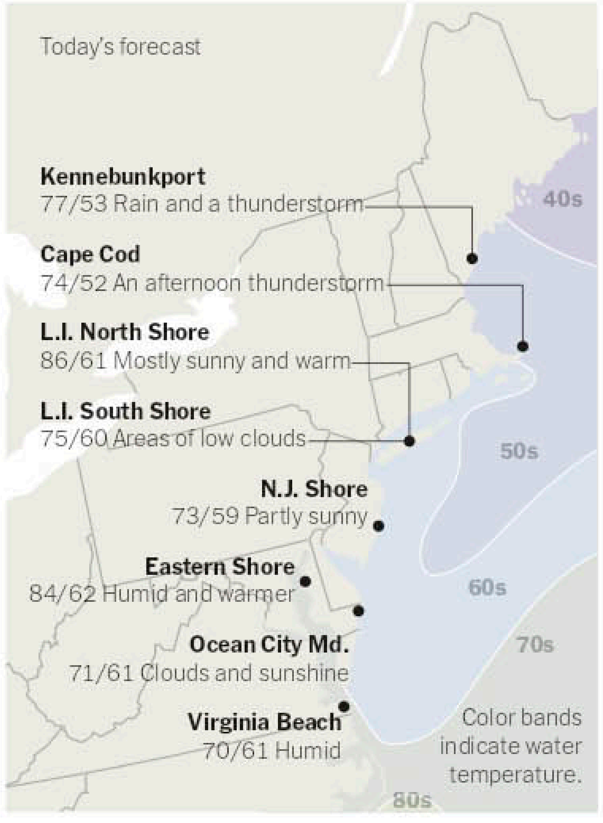
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be south to southeast at 5-10 knots. Waves will be 1-2 feet on the ocean and less than 1-3 feet on Long Island Sound and New York Harbor. Visibility will generally be clear to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	6:36 a.m.	7:03 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	6:53 a.m.	7:16 p.m.
The Battery	7:27 a.m.	7:44 p.m.
Beach Haven	8:18 a.m.	8:41 p.m.
Bridgeport	10:39 a.m.	10:47 p.m.
City Island	10:38 a.m.	10:36 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	7:46 a.m.	8:09 p.m.
Montauk Point	8:23 a.m.	8:32 p.m.
Northport	10:50 a.m.	10:57 p.m.
Port Washington	10:49 a.m.	10:49 p.m.
Sandy Hook	7:00 a.m.	7:23 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	6:48 a.m.	7:10 p.m.
Stamford	10:40 a.m.	10:50 p.m.
Tarrytown	9:16 a.m.	9:33 p.m.
Willets Point	10:41 a.m.	10:38 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



A partly to mostly cloudy sky along much of the New England Coast will turn to rain and thunderstorms in the afternoon. Farther south, the Jersey Shore, Delmarva and coastal Virginia will have clouds and sunshine.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	S	Sun
F	Fog	Sn	Snow
H	Haze	SS	Snow showers
I	Ice	T	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	Tr	Trace
R	Rain	W	Windy
Sh	Showers	–	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	87/ 59 0	90/ 62 S	68/ 54 Sh
Bridgeport	76/ 53 0	82/ 60 T	63/ 51 Sh
Caldwell	89/ 49 0	91/ 63 S	68/ 55 Sh
Danbury	88/ 48 0	86/ 61 T	64/ 50 Sh
Islip	77/ 54 0	83/ 59 T	63/ 51 Sh
Newark	86/ 58 0	91/ 65 S	70/ 53 Sh
Trenton	84/ 53 0	88/ 62 S	68/ 51 T
White Plains	84/ 51 0	86/ 60 T	64/ 49 Sh

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	94/ 62 0	90/ 63 T	69/ 49 Sh
Albuquerque	79/ 56 0	75/ 55 C	78/ 58 T
Anchorage	54/ 42 0.13	50/ 46 R	57/ 46 C
Atlanta	84/ 67 0	86/ 68 PC	90/ 66 PC
Atlantic City	70/ 55 0	73/ 57 PC	66/ 53 W
Austin	89/ 69 0	90/ 65 PC	92/ 67 PC
Baltimore	86/ 60 0	92/ 66 PC	83/ 60 T
Baton Rouge	91/ 69 0	92/ 69 PC	92/ 68 T
Birmingham	86/ 66 0	88/ 68 PC	89/ 67 PC
Boise	78/ 53 0	77/ 55 S	79/ 58 C
Boston	86/ 64 0	84/ 53 T	56/ 50 R
Buffalo	90/ 62 0	84/ 63 PC	76/ 53 C
Burlington	95/ 64 0	86/ 58 Sh	68/ 50 Sh
Casper	67/ 48 0.30	62/ 45 T	64/ 48 C
Charlotte	83/ 63 0	84/ 59 PC	90/ 63 PC
Chattanooga	84/ 66 0	90/ 66 PC	91/ 66 PC
Chicago	89/ 65 0.04	91/ 62 S	87/ 63 PC
Cincinnati	89/ 63 0	91/ 66 S	92/ 64 S
Cleveland	87/ 61 0	87/ 63 S	81/ 57 S
Colorado Springs	74/ 49 0.10	74/ 54 T	64/ 51 T
Columbus	90/ 63 0	93/ 67 S	91/ 63 PC
Concord, N.H.	94/ 57 0	87/ 54 T	56/ 47 C
Dallas-Ft. Worth	88/ 71 0	91/ 72 S	89/ 68 T
Denver	73/ 50 0.10	69/ 50 T	65/ 49 T
Des Moines	85/ 66 0.06	87/ 67 T	89/ 66 S
Detroit	89/ 62 0	89/ 63 PC	88/ 60 PC
El Paso	90/ 69 0	90/ 63 S	92/ 66 S
Fargo	94/ 69 0.04	92/ 69 T	91/ 67 T
Hartford	92/ 57 0	88/ 57 T	61/ 49 Sh
Honolulu	87/ 73 0.06	86/ 72 Sh	86/ 73 PC
Houston	92/ 69 0	93/ 71 S	91/ 72 PC
Indianapolis	90/ 65 0	92/ 66 S	92/ 65 S
Jackson	87/ 64 0	90/ 67 PC	91/ 64 PC
Jacksonville	80/ 65 0.62	83/ 66 T	82/ 66 T
Kansas City	86/ 65 0.04	87/ 65 T	86/ 67 PC
Key West	88/ 78 0	86/ 78 T	86/ 78 T
Las Vegas	91/ 72 0	92/ 71 S	95/ 77 S
Lexington	88/ 62 0	92/ 65 S	96/ 67 S
Little Rock	91/ 69 0	91/ 71 PC	94/ 67 T
Los Angeles	69/ 57 0	71/ 57 PC	74/ 58 PC
Louisville	88/ 67 0.04	93/ 67 S	92/ 69 S
Memphis	89/ 72 0	89/ 72 PC	95/ 71 S
Miami	89/ 73 0.59	86/ 73 T	84/ 73 T
Milwaukee	81/ 60 0.04	81/ 60 S	78/ 61 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	86/ 69 0.04	90/ 70 T	88/ 69 T
Nashville	85/ 66 0.04	92/ 64 PC	94/ 67 PC
New Orleans	87/ 73 0.04	91/ 75 S	90/ 73 S
Norfolk	69/ 63 0.05	72/ 60 PC	75/ 59 PC
Oklahoma City	80/ 64 0.59	84/ 64 PC	79/ 63 R
Omaha	84/ 66 0.69	85/ 66 T	86/ 66 T
Orlando	85/ 70 0.40	84/ 70 T	84/ 68 T
Philadelphia	88/ 62 0	92/ 66 S	75/ 57 T
Phoenix	92/ 71 0	94/ 73 S	98/ 75 S
Pittsburgh	89/ 60 0	90/ 65 S	89/ 60 PC
Portland, Me.	84/ 61 0	83/ 51 T	55/ 46 C
Portland, Ore.	73/ 50 0	78/ 51 PC	81/ 53 S
Providence	85/ 56 0	83/ 52 T	56/ 48 R
Raleigh	78/ 64 0	81/ 59 PC	88/ 61 C
Reno	78/ 50 0.04	80/ 52 S	84/ 56 S
Richmond	78/ 61 0.03	88/ 57 PC	87/ 58 T
Rochester	89/ 61 0	83/ 59 S	72/ 49 PC
Sacramento	83/ 52 0	88/ 55 S	91/ 58 S
Salt Lake City	77/ 57 0.04	74/ 58 T	78/ 58 C
San Antonio	90/ 70 0	90/ 71 PC	91/ 69 C
San Diego	66/ 60 0	67/ 58 PC	68/ 59 PC
San Francisco	68/ 52 0	68/ 52 PC	69/ 52 PC
San Jose	74/ 52 0	76/ 54 PC	82/ 57 S
San Juan	92/ 78 0.13	93/ 79 PC	92/ 78 T
Seattle	68/ 48 0	71/ 49 PC	72/ 49 S
Sioux Falls	87/ 67 0.04	87/ 67 T	86/ 65 T
Spokane	72/ 51 0	77/ 54 S	80/ 55 S
St. Louis	91/ 72 0.04	93/ 71 T	95/ 72 S
St. Thomas	88/ 79 0.02	89/ 80 PC	88/ 80 C
Syracuse	92/ 61 0	87/ 62 PC	78/ 50 PC
Tampa	87/ 72 0.60	86/ 70 T	87/ 73 T
Toledo	92/ 58 0	91/ 62 S	87/ 61 S
Tucson	87/ 61 0	90/ 62 S	94/ 67 S
Tulsa	89/ 68 0.04	89/ 67 PC	85/ 68 T
Virginia Beach	68/ 62 0.02	70/ 59 PC	72/ 59 C
Washington	86/ 63 0	93/ 68 PC	85/ 59 T
Wichita	78/ 65 0.58	83/ 66 T	79/ 64 T
Wilmington, Del.	86/ 58 0	91/ 61 S	75/ 56 T

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	75/ 56 0	76/ 64 C	76/ 64 C
Cairo	101/ 79 0	108/ 77 S	96/ 72 S
Cape Town	66/ 53 0	66/ 55 W	62/ 49 Sh
Dakar	82/ 75 0	83/ 74 S	83/ 74 C
Johannesburg	59/ 38 0	67/ 51 S	71/ 49 PC
Nairobi	78/ 60 0.14	76/ 59 Sh	76/ 58 T
Tunis	73/ 63 0.48	79/ 65 C	81/ 66 Sh

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	106/ 77 0	102/ 77 PC	107/ 83 PC
Bangkok	99/ 82 0	98/ 81 T	98/ 81 PC
Beijing	92/ 58 0	90/ 62 PC	93/ 64 PC
Damascus	95/ 55 0	97/ 68 PC	96/ 60 W
Hong Kong	92/ 83 0.68	93/ 84 T	92/ 82 PC
Jakarta	91/ 78 0	92/ 78 PC	93/ 79 PC
Jerusalem	86/ 63 0	99/ 75 PC	87/ 63 W
Karachi	93/ 83 0.10	94/ 84 PC	96/ 84 W
Manila	90/ 80 0.09	89/ 82 R	89/ 81 R
Mumbai	93/ 83 0	93/ 85 PC	95/ 85 PC
New Delhi	89/ 70 0.02	94/ 74 PC	98/ 78 PC
Riyadh	104/ 78 0	104/ 80 PC	104/ 80 S
Seoul	81/ 64 Tr	81/ 59 PC	85/ 58 S
Shanghai	86/ 71 0	94/ 68 PC	84/ 66 PC
Singapore	87/ 79 0.43	90/ 79 C	89/ 80 T
Sydney	75/ 57 0	70/ 57 PC	74/ 59 PC
Taipei City	84/ 76 0.24	95/ 76 R	91/ 72 PC
Tehran	94/ 70 0	93/ 71 S	94/ 75 S
Tokyo	77/ 62 0.02	75/ 66 R	70/ 63 R

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	61/ 48 0	65/ 51 PC	73/ 50 S
Athens	86/ 63 0.05	76/ 60 C	80/ 64 PC
Berlin	75/ 53 0	70/ 44 PC	70/ 45 PC
Brussels	70/ 49 0	68/ 49 S	75/ 49 S
Budapest	81/ 53 0.01	84/ 56 T	74/ 49 PC
Copenhagen	72/ 50 0	64/ 46 S	65/ 50 PC
Dublin	67/ 48 0	62/ 44 S	66/ 47 S
Edinburgh	58/ 49 0.01	61/ 45 PC	64/ 46 PC
Frankfurt	82/ 57 0	74/ 55 PC	79/ 54 S
Geneva	79/ 53 0.15	79/ 56 T	74/ 57 T
Helsinki	54/ 42 0.03	49/ 35 Sh	57/ 45 PC
Istanbul	77/ 62 0	79/ 64 S	74/ 62 C
Kyiv	79/ 51 0	80/ 52 T	66/ 46 S
Lisbon	79/ 57 0	77/ 59 PC	78/ 58 S
London	66/ 48 0	67/ 46 PC	73/ 49 PC
Madrid	77/ 55 0.20	73/ 53 T	78/ 54 T
Moscow	70/ 46 0	74/ 47 Sh	57/ 41 R
Nice	74/ 65 0.04	76/ 64 T	76/ 65 T
Oslo	61/ 48 0	67/ 44 PC	71/ 48 PC
Paris	82/ 59 0	72/ 52 S	80/ 57 S
Prague	77/ 48 0	70/ 43 PC	69/ 44 S
Rome	77/ 59 0	78/ 60 PC	78/ 59 S
St. Petersburg	57/ 45 0.03	53/ 39 S	53/ 43 R
Stockholm	60/ 44 0	58/ 36 PC	63/ 44 PC
Vienna	80/ 51 0	81/ 52 PC	73/ 55 S
Warsaw	79/ 50 0	64/ 42 S	66/ 46 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 76 0	89/ 76 S	90/ 77 S
Bermuda	77/ 71 0.36	76/ 71 R	75/ 71 C
Edmonton	60/ 51 0.55	74/ 51 PC	74/ 54 Sh
Guadalajara	94/ 61 0	97/ 60 S	97/ 60 S
Havana	86/ 72 0.16	86/ 68 T	87/ 71 Sh
Kingston	88/ 81 0.01	86/ 80 T	86/ 80 T
Martinique	88/ 78 0.13	89/ 78 C	88/ 79 C
Mexico City	85/ 60 0	86/ 59 C	86/ 58 S
Monterrey	87/ 70 0.10	87/ 71 T	85/ 69 T
Montreal	94/ 64 0	85/ 53 Sh	70/ 49 S
Nassau	85/ 75 0.44	86/ 74 T	86/ 76 T
Panama City	82/ 75 0.10	86/ 76 T	87/ 76 R
Quebec City	91/ 58 0	69/ 50 PC	66/ 43 S
Santo Domingo	90/ 75 0.24	88/ 76 T	90/ 77 T
Toronto	89/ 62 0	87/ 65 PC	78/ 55 PC
Vancouver	63/ 48 0	67/ 51 C	68/ 51 S
Winnipeg	81/ 59 0	90/ 67 T	90/ 69 S

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	66/ 55 0	70/ 61 C	68/ 58 PC
Caracas	93/ 75 0.17	91/ 75 T	89/ 76 T
Lima	77/ 66 0	74/ 67 PC	74/ 67 PC
Quito	63/ 46 0.15	62/ 46 Sh	64/ 48 Sh
Recife	84/ 76 0	84/ 77 PC	86/ 77 S
Rio de Janeiro	77/ 69 Tr	76/ 66 PC	76/ 67 S
Santiago	66/ 43 0	63/ 48 R	60/ 46 PC

The New York Times

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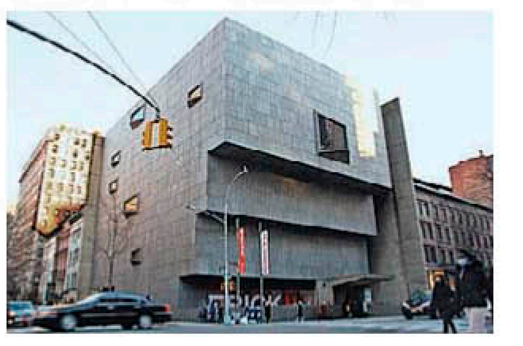
3 THEATER REVIEW

Freakout fun with telekinetic weirdos in a cabin. BY JESSE GREEN

11 ART

Sotheby's buys the Whitney's Breuer building.

BY ROBIN POGREBIN



14 PRIDE MONTH EVENTS

Marching, dancing and being seen.

BY ERIK PIEPENBURG

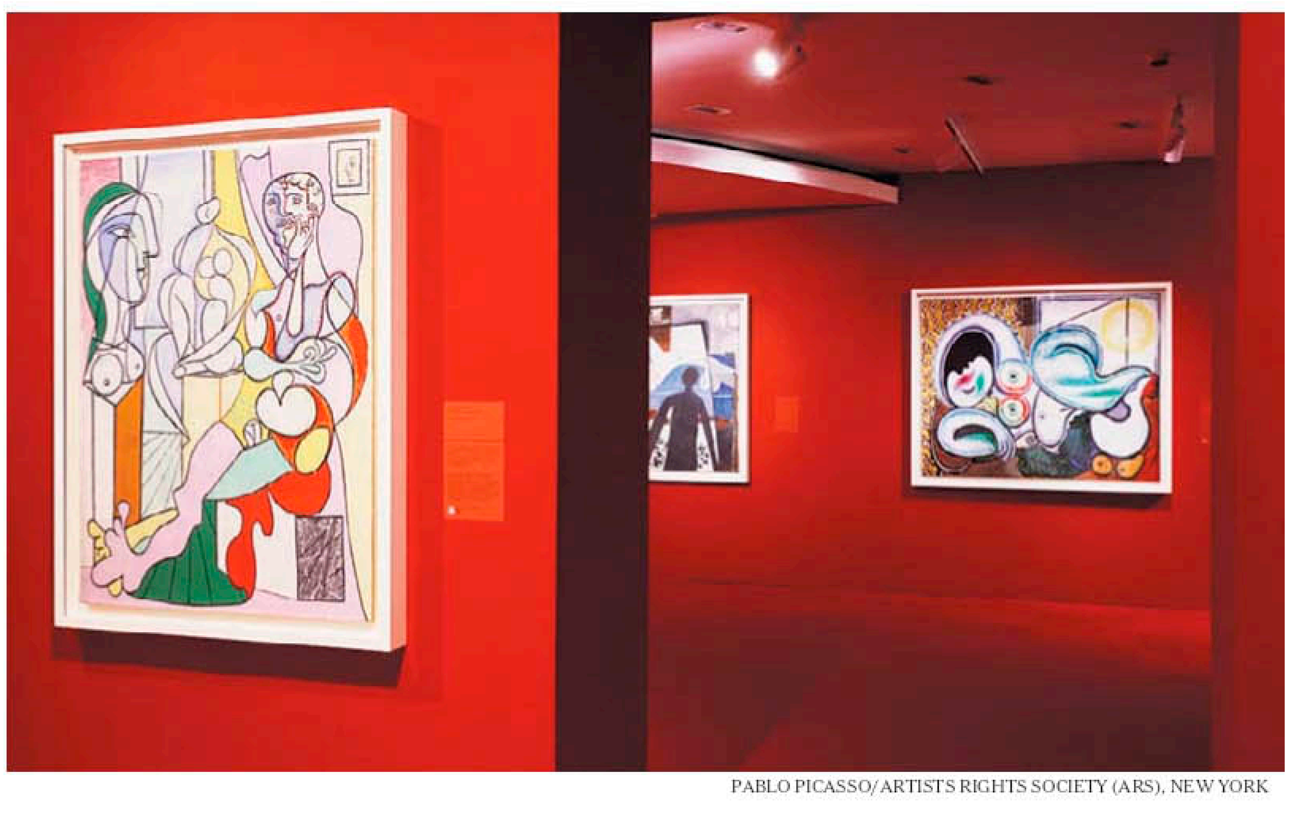
JASON FARAGO | ART REVIEW

Funny? Well, That's Problematic.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

It's Pablo-matic: Picasso According to Hannah Gadsby
Brooklyn Museum

Above, a painting by Cecily Brown, "Triumph of the Vanities II," at the Brooklyn Museum. Right, paintings by Picasso, from left, "Le Sculpteur (The Sculptor)," "L'Ombre (The Shadow)" and "Nu Couché (Reclining Nude)."



PABLO PICASSO/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK

Hannah Gadsby turns curator in a show about Picasso's legacy. But it's female artists that the exhibition really shortchanges.

IF YOU STUDIED ART HISTORY or another of the humanities in the 1990s or 2000s — say, if you are around the age of the Australian comic Hannah Gadsby, 45 — you may remember the word "problematic" from your long-ago seminar days. Back then it was a voguish noun, borrowed from French, that described the unconscious structure of an ideology or a text. Soon, though, like so many other efforts to think critically, "the problematic" got left behind in this century's great shift from reading to scrolling. These days we encounter "problematic" exclusively as an adjective: an offhand judgment of moral disapproval, from a speaker who can't be bothered by precision.

A whole cast of professional art workers — conservators, designers, guards, technicians — has been roped in to produce "It's Pablo-matic: Picasso According to Hannah Gadsby," a small exhibition opening Friday at the Brooklyn Museum. (It is a title so silly that I cannot even type it; I am cutting and pasting.) The show, one of many worldwide timed to the 50th anniversary of the Spanish artist's death in 1973, is essentially a light amusement following on from "Nanette," a Netflix special from 2018. In that routine, a sort of blend of stand up and TED Talk, Gadsby riffed on having "barely graduated from an art history degree," at the bachelor's level, and attempted a takedown of the Spanish artist: "He's rotten in the face cavity! I hate Picasso! I hate him!" Now

CONTINUED ON PAGE C10

MANOHLA DARGIS | FILM REVIEW

Remembering Yesterday, While Reaching for Tomorrow

Celine Song's film debut follows childhood friends across two decades.

CRITIC'S PICK
Past Lives
Directed by Celine Song

"PAST LIVES" is a wistful *what-if* story about two people, the children they were and the adults they become. The movie follows them through the years and across assorted reunions, separations and continents as well as milestones momentous and ordinary. It's a tale of friendship, love, regret and what it means to truly live here and now. In a sense it is a time-travel movie, because even as the two characters keep moving forward, they remain inexorably tethered to the past, which means it's also a story about everyday life.

"Past Lives" centers on Nora (played as an adult by a terrific and subtle Greta Lee) and a boy named Hae Sung (Teo Yoo), though mostly it's about her. The two first meet as schoolmates in their home city, Seoul. They're charming — they're children — and close. "He's manly," Nora, then called Na Young, tells her amused mother. "I will probably marry him." Soon after the movie opens, the kids are walking home shoulder-to-shoulder, her eyes downcast. He's received higher marks at school, which, in a portent of her later-life ambition, has upset her. Hae Sung comforts her because he's a nice boy; he will become a nice man, but by

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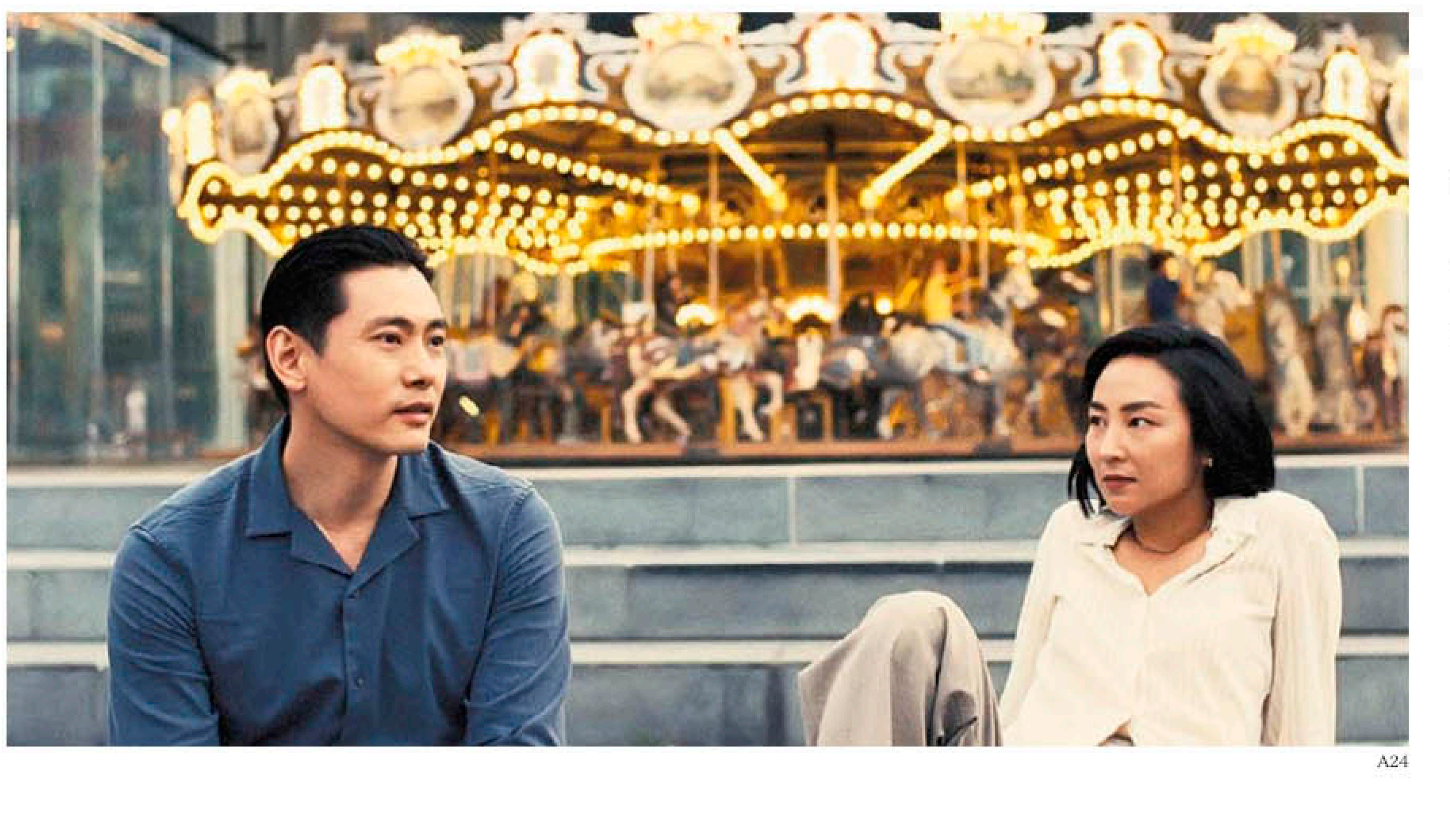


A24

Teo Yoo and Greta Lee in "Past Lives." The film, directed by Celine Song, opens in the present then flashes back 24 years.

WEEKEND ROUNDUP

Old Favorites and Family Entertainment

Enjoy a variety of musical styles, future ballet stars, activities with a French accent and humor on skates.

SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Lawrence Brownlee, left, and Erin Morley in a production of "Die Zauberflöte" ("The Magic Flute") at the Metropolitan Opera.

1

CLASSICAL
METROPOLITAN OPERA

June 2-3 at the Metropolitan Opera House, Manhattan

The Met has started to increase its investment in new works, like Kevin Puts's "The Hours" and Terence Blanchard's "Champion." But that doesn't mean it has lost interest in giving repertory staples a fresh spin. In the penultimate weekend of the 2022-23 season, you have an opportunity to catch up with the latest stagings of some well-worn favorites.

On Friday at 7:30 p.m., the director Ivo van Hove's take on "Don Giovanni" is onstage, and Mozart's presence lingers on Saturday with a 1 p.m. presentation of a modernized "Die Zauberflöte" ("The Magic Flute"). Both productions are conducted by Nathalie Stutzmann, who has been acclaimed for her work at the Met thus far. In the Saturday evening slot at 8:30 is a version of Wagner's "Der Fliegende Holländer" ("The Flying Dutchman") from 2020, directed by François Girard. Tickets, which start at $39.50, are available at metopera.org.

SETH COLTER WALLS

2

KIDS
TILT KIDS DAY: C'EST LA FÊTE!

June 3 at the French Institute Alliance Française, Manhattan

Children won't have to know French to understand that "fête" means celebration. That theme will declare itself in all the activities on Saturday, the season's last TILT Kids Day.

Geared toward visitors ages 3 to 10 (no foreign-language skills required), the fun runs from 10:30 a.m. to 5 p.m. and includes three workshops. One incorporates a brief tour of the buildingwide exhibition "Homecoming," which consists of ordinary people's vintage photographs of family festivities. Young visitors will take pictures of their own families to create a collaged daylong addition to the installation, which was compiled by the Anonymous Project.

Little artists can also devise offbeat musical instruments with the Brooklyn Orchestra's Alí Bello and fashion wild costumes with Karen Eleanor Wight, who is on the Broadway wardrobe crew for "Hamilton." Such inventions will come in handy at the day's culminating event, a family D.J. dance party.

But those seeking just entertainment will have options, too: a story time devoted to revelry-themed picture books and, nearby at Florence Gould Hall, "C'est la Fête!," an interactive show by Broken Box Mime Theater. A schedule is at fiaf.org; all-day passes start at $10.

LAUREL GRAEBER

3

DANCE
SCHOOL OF AMERICAN BALLET

June 3 and 5 at the Peter Jay Sharp Theater, Manhattan

When George Balanchine was invited by the arts impresario Lincoln Kirstein to start a ballet company in the United States, Balanchine famously insisted, "But first, a school." So in 1934 the two men founded the School of American Ballet to shape students in Balanchine's neoclassical image. When they subsequently established New York City Ballet in 1948, S.A.B. became its official training academy and has since produced generations of extraordinary and memorable dancers.

The school's latest crop of future ballet stars presents its annual workshop performances on Saturday at 2 and 8 p.m. and a benefit show on Monday at 7 p.m. The lineup is fittingly Balanchine heavy, with excerpts from 1966's "Brahms-Schoenberg Quartet" and 1968's "La Source," as well as a section from the playful "Coppélia." Also on the program is an excerpt from August Bournonville's fanciful 1842 ballet "Napoli."

Tickets are $70 for Saturday's performances and $125 for the benefit; they are available at sab.org.

BRIAN SCHAEFER

STILL HARPER

Dreamer Isioma will perform in Brooklyn on Saturday.

4

POP & ROCK
DREAMER ISIOMA

June 3 at Music Hall of Williamsburg, Brooklyn

Dreamer Isioma is part of a crop of Gen-Z bedroom-singer-producers who found early success on TikTok: "Sensitive," a viral hit in 2020, is a swaggering single in which Isioma, who uses he/they pronouns, mocks male fragility. But their debut album, last year's "Goodnight Dreamer," signaled a distinct eagerness to transcend their D.I.Y. origins. In funk- and club-laced R&B songs, they sang about the trappings of music-industry success: parties in Los Angeles, providing for their parents and rebuffing "haters mad 'cause I'm young, Black and famous."

More recently, Isioma has been looking not toward stardom, but to the stars. Last month, they released "Princess Forever," an album that weaves space-age sound effects into lyrical meditations on escaping a collapsing planet. "We're all gonna float to outer space," Isioma sings wistfully on one track.

At Music Hall of Williamsburg on Saturday, starting at 9 p.m., Isioma's smooth, vibey soundscapes will allow concertgoers' minds — if not bodies — to float away. Tickets are available for $20 from AXS.

OLIVIA HORN

5

COMEDY
'NICK MOHAMMED IS MR. SWALLOW'

June 2 at the Town Hall, Manhattan

As Nate Shelley on the Apple TV+ series "Ted Lasso," Nick Mohammed has been the "Wonder Kid," rising from an unassuming equipment manager of AFC Richmond to the head coach at West Ham United — and earning two Emmy nominations for his performance along the way.

As Mr. Swallow, Mohammed possesses a different set of seemingly unconnected special skills, any one of which might as easily qualify him for "Britain's Got Talent" as much as they would for the old Stupid Human Tricks segment on "The Late Show With David Letterman." Imagine if Mr. Bean could not only speak, but also had a talent for math, mentalism and musical theater — all while wearing roller skates. Mohammed has portrayed Mr. Swallow for more than a decade on various TV programs and in live performances in Britain, but this Town Hall appearance on Friday, which begins at 7:30 p.m., is the debut of the character in the United States. Tickets start at $37 on Ticketmaster.

SEAN L. McCARTHY

MATT CROCKETT

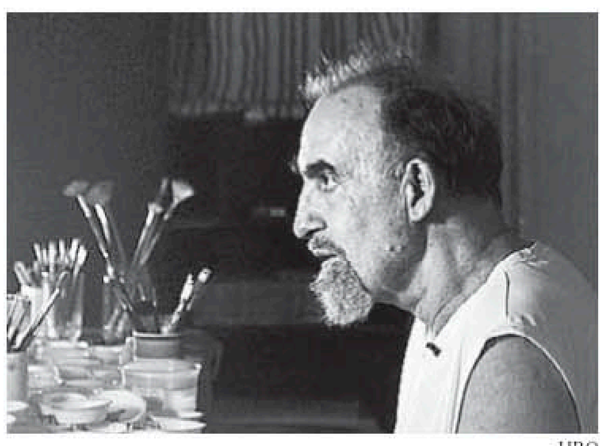
Nick Mohammed portrays the character Mr. Swallow.

This weekend I have . . .

BY MARGARET LYONS

. . . a half-hour, and I want to be mesmerized.

'PAINTING WITH JOHN'
FRIDAY AT 11 P.M. ON HBO



HBO

The artist John Lurie (right) returns for a third and final season of his mesmerizing collage series, which braids his music, paintings and musings into one of TV's most evocative and distinctive shows. "The world is getting to me lately," he sighs in the season premiere. "I really thought by this point the human beings would be doing better." Then he shares a tiny but transporting story and somehow the cloud lifts. If there's another show that can make you tremble with wistful tears and also includes two solid minutes exclusively of people chanting the word "potato," I haven't seen it.

. . . an hour, and I want an exciting drama.

'THE LAZARUS PROJECT'
SUNDAY AT 8 P.M. ON TNT

TNT

Time-loop stories are having a moment right now, often as a way for a depressed character to ask themselves, "Is my life just monotonous repetition?" Here, it's also an opportunity to ask, "Can a motorcycle drive through a window?" Paapa Essiedu (above, with Anjli Mohindra) stars as George, an app developer who gets swept up with an organization than can turn back the clock — but only to July 1 each year. Few people can recognize that it is happening, and "Groundhog Day"-ing six months rather than 24 hours is draining in ways George can't predict. The show has a tense political-thriller energy early on and eases into a surprising emotional depth. If you miss "Orphan Black," watch this.

. . . a few hours, and I like dark comedy.

'DEADLOCH'
ON AMAZON
(FIRST THREE EPISODES)

AMAZON PRIME VIDEO

This Australian series begins with a dead body in the sand and chugs along from there with all the grim stares, windy beaches and testy locals you'd expect — but rather than another bleakness marathon, it's a vicious comedy, as if the characters on "Broadchurch" were cracking jokes constantly. Kate Box (above) stars as the strait-laced cop paired with a loud dingus partner, desperate to solve the case before the winter "Feastival" but thwarted by both criminal scheming and by amorous sea gulls obscuring CCTV footage. If you want a murder show but are exhausted by, you know, murder shows, try this.

Sing, Memory: An Alicia Keys Musical Inspired by Her Life

The Public Theater's season will also include works by Suzan-Lori Parks and others.

By MICHAEL PAULSON

For more than a decade, Alicia Keys has been quietly developing a musical inspired by her own turbulent adolescence growing up among artists in New York City. Now that musical, "Hell's Kitchen," is almost ready for viewing: It will be staged this fall at the Public Theater, the downtown nonprofit where "A Chorus Line" and "Hamilton" were born.

By any measure, the musical will be big: It has a cast of 20, the biggest budget of any show the Public has ever done, and, of course, music by Keys, an R&B and pop singer who has sold tens of millions of records. The show will feature some of Keys's best-known songs, as well as new material she has written for the musical.

"This is my pride and joy," she said in an interview. "This is a major, major turning point in my journey."

"Hell's Kitchen" doesn't precisely track the events of Keys's own life, but there are strong parallels. Set in the 1990s, it takes place over a few months in the life of a 17-year-old named Ali, who is being raised by a single mother in Manhattan Plaza, a large housing complex where many of the residents are performing artists; there is family tension, sexual exploration and musical discovery. (Ali, like Keys, is transformed by a passion for piano.)

Keys has been deeply involved with the show's development, and her own production company has the commercial rights to whatever life the show might have beyond the Public. "I'm never hands off," Keys said. "There's not one page, there's not one sheet, there's not one word, there's not one song, there's not one melody, there's not anything that happens in this piece that moves without me completely immersed in it and ensuring its authenticity."

The musical was Keys's idea, and in 2011 she picked the playwright Kristoffer Diaz ("The Elaborate Entrance of Chad Deity") to write its book; in 2018, the two asked Michael Greif ("Rent") to join as director, and Greif then brought it to the Public.

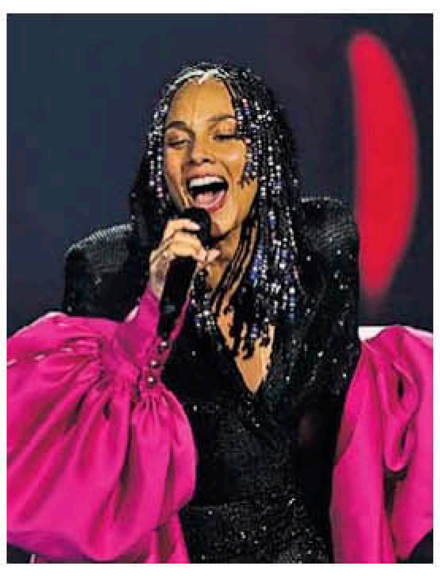
"It's very much about a young woman testing boundaries," Greif said. "It's a story about a series of collisions she has with very important people in her life when she's 17, and how those collisions affect the person she was to become."

"Hell's Kitchen" is scheduled to begin previews Oct. 24 and to open Nov. 19. An emerging actor named Maleah Joi Moon will play Ali; her mother will be played by Shoshana Bean ("Wicked"), and her estranged father will be played by Brandon Victor Dixon ("Hamilton"); Camille A. Brown will choreograph.

The Public is already planning to stage "Hamlet" this summer, directed by Kenny Leon and starring Ato Blankson-Wood, as its sole Free Shakespeare in the Park production, but now will follow that with a new Public Works adaptation of "The Tempest," with songs by Benjamin Velez and directed by Laurie Woolery. The Public Works program, which stages musical adaptations of classics featuring a handful of professional actors and a large ensemble of amateur New York City performers, began in 2013 with a different adaptation of "The Tempest."

"The Tempest" will be the final production at the Delacorte Theater in Central Park until 2025; the Public is trying to figure out whether and where it might stage a production next summer while the Delacorte is being renovated.

In October, the Public will partner with NYU Skirball to present three Sean O'Casey plays staged by Ireland's Druid theater.



The Alicia Keys musical will feature some of her best-known hits, as well as new songs she is writing for the show.

Starting in November at its downtown theater, the Public plans to stage "Manahatta," a play that connects Manhattan's Native American history with its contemporary finance industry, written by Mary Kathryn Nagle and directed by Woolery. That will be followed in February by "The Ally," written by Itamar Moses and directed by Lila Neugebauer, starring Josh Radnor as an atheistic Jew whose social justice commitments are complicated by Middle East politics.

In March comes "Sally & Tom," written by Suzan-Lori Parks and directed by Steve H. Broadnax III, about a contemporary theater company trying to do a play about Sally Hemings and Thomas Jefferson. And in April is "Jordans," written by Ife Olujobi and directed by Whitney White, a comedy about Blackness in an overwhelmingly white workplace.

One thing the Public will not be doing: presenting its previously annual Under the Radar Festival of experimental work. "It's entirely a financial decision," said Oskar Eustis, the Public's artistic director. "This does not mean the Public is abandoning its relationship with downtown experimental artists, but we're going to be looking for a new way of embodying that."

JESSE GREEN | THEATER REVIEW

SARA KRULWICH/THE NEW YORK TIMES

From left: Sophia Anne Caruso, Colby Kipnes (on floor), Millicent Simmonds, Paul Sparks, Eamon Patrick O'Connell, Tatiana Maslany, Alyssa Emily Marvin and Laurie Metcalf, who plays den mother to a coven of girls living in an isolated cabin.

Talk About an Extreme Case of Cabin Fever

A new drama about a sisterhood of sorrows brings something scary to the stage. But is delivering shocks and shivers enough?

FOUR STRANGE GIRLS, somewhere between 12 and 200 years old, live in an isolated cabin in the woods. Don't they always?

Marlow (Sophia Anne Caruso) is the alpha, bossing the others around — and also bossing the stranded outsiders, because of course there are stranded outsiders in a play that trades on the tropes of a million horror tales. In "Grey House," the prime trope is coy creepiness. Of the small knife she occasionally brandishes, Marlow, who gives Wednesday Addams vibes, comfortingly says, "If I put it in your eye, it wouldn't even hit your brain."

Good to know — and basically true of the play itself.

"Grey House," at the Lyceum Theater, is certainly an in-your-face assault, more in the manner of John Carpenter movies than anything seen onstage since the age of melodrama. It is so expertly assembled from spare parts by the playwright Levi Holloway and the director Joe Mantello that you may not notice, between the jump scares and the shivery pauses, how little it has on its mind. Something about cycles of abuse? The legacy of misogyny? Sure, let's go with that.

Grey House
At the Lyceum Theater in Manhattan; greyhousebroadway.com. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes.

But mostly let's go with the freak-out fun of the four telekinetic weirdos and their den mother, Raleigh, played by Laurie Metcalf in a stringy salt-and-pepper wig that's almost as frightening as she is. Raleigh is not very maternal; Marlow says she is their mother "sometimes." Other than feeding them and untangling their tresses as if weeding a garden, she generally leaves them to their own devices.

At the start of the play, those devices include some kind of gas-mask contraption that an ethereal deaf girl named Bernie (Millicent Simmonds) is making. (Hint: It's not a gas mask.) What Squirrel (Colby Kipnes) is making is even worse: a kind of tapestry of innards. (She is presumably called Squirrel because of her tendency to gnaw things like phone cords that if left ungnawed would short-circuit the plot.)

Luckily, the fourth girl, A1656 (Alyssa Emily Marvin), is just making nice. She translates for Bernie and, when the outsiders arrive, calms them with good humor. Explaining her name, she admits that it may be unusual but "it's no A1655."

The outsiders, a childless couple, need calming because they've just wrecked their car on a mountain road. Max (Tatiana Maslany) was driving; swerving to hit a deer, she hit it anyway. The accident has left Henry (Paul Sparks) with his ankle mangled, or maybe his leg or maybe his soul — it's a restless manglement, moving through him as the play's 95 minutes tick by. In any case, Raleigh splints him up, and the girls give him moonshine as an anesthetic.

Well, not really moonshine.

"Grey House," which comes to Broadway from Chicago, where it had its world premiere at A Red Orchid Theater in 2019, keeps its secrets as quiet as its shocks are conspicuous. Only gradually do we get any sense of how the marriage of Max and Henry was crashing even before the accident, or why the coven of girls, if not their minder, has such an interest in helping it come apart completely. By the time we do begin to put together a possible explanatory scheme, it's too late to matter; the trappings of horror, if not any meaningful horror beneath, have scared the bejesus out of the psychological drama.

At least those trappings are superb. Though I've left undescribed the two other humans (at least I think they are humans) who fill out the cast, it gives nothing away to discuss the even-more-prominent title character. As designed by Scott Pask and lit by Natasha Katz, and especially as given voice by the sound designer, Tom Gibbons, the house seems to be the repository of feelings and history that everyone else is mostly sidestepping. It moans while they tease.

That teasing quality, though sometimes charming — and often, if you are a scaredy-cat, a relief from the hard-core jolts — is the giveaway that "Grey House" should not be taken too seriously, regardless of its allusions to real-world horror of the past and present. (Yes, the Holocaust gets a hat tip.) We know too much about the rules of the genre, how information and staging will be manipulated to scare and delight us, to give much credence to anything deeper. In that way, "Grey House" is like a jukebox musical, squishing familiar arias — gore, ghosts, what have you — into a chic and enjoyable if mostly empty new container.

Letting go of meaning in the theater in favor of sensation is a big ask today. The ambition of playwrights to speak directly to our times through emotional naturalism has largely wiped horror, mystery and their ilk from our stages. One of the last such plays to appear on Broadway was an adaptation of Stephen King's "Misery" in 2015, starring Bruce Willis as an author of mystery novels and, as the psychotic fan who nearly nurses him to death, once again the great Laurie Metcalf.

So another thing that has to be said for "Grey House" is that it has given artists who want to explore the opportunities and particular language of an unfashionable form a rare chance to do so. Metcalf and the rest of the cast turn that opportunity into a meal; by investing in its clichés without condescension, they do much to de-cliché them.

But what makes the effort meaningful to artists — Holloway began thinking about the story after a family tragedy — may not make it meaningful to us. And though the theater is already a kind of haunted house, filled with odd beings and strange noises, horror may simply work better in a less live medium. When Max and Henry show up at the cabin, unaware that anyone is there, they look around at the spooky surroundings, listen to the wind howling, and somehow find it all so familiar.

"I've seen this movie," Henry says. Which is the problem exactly.

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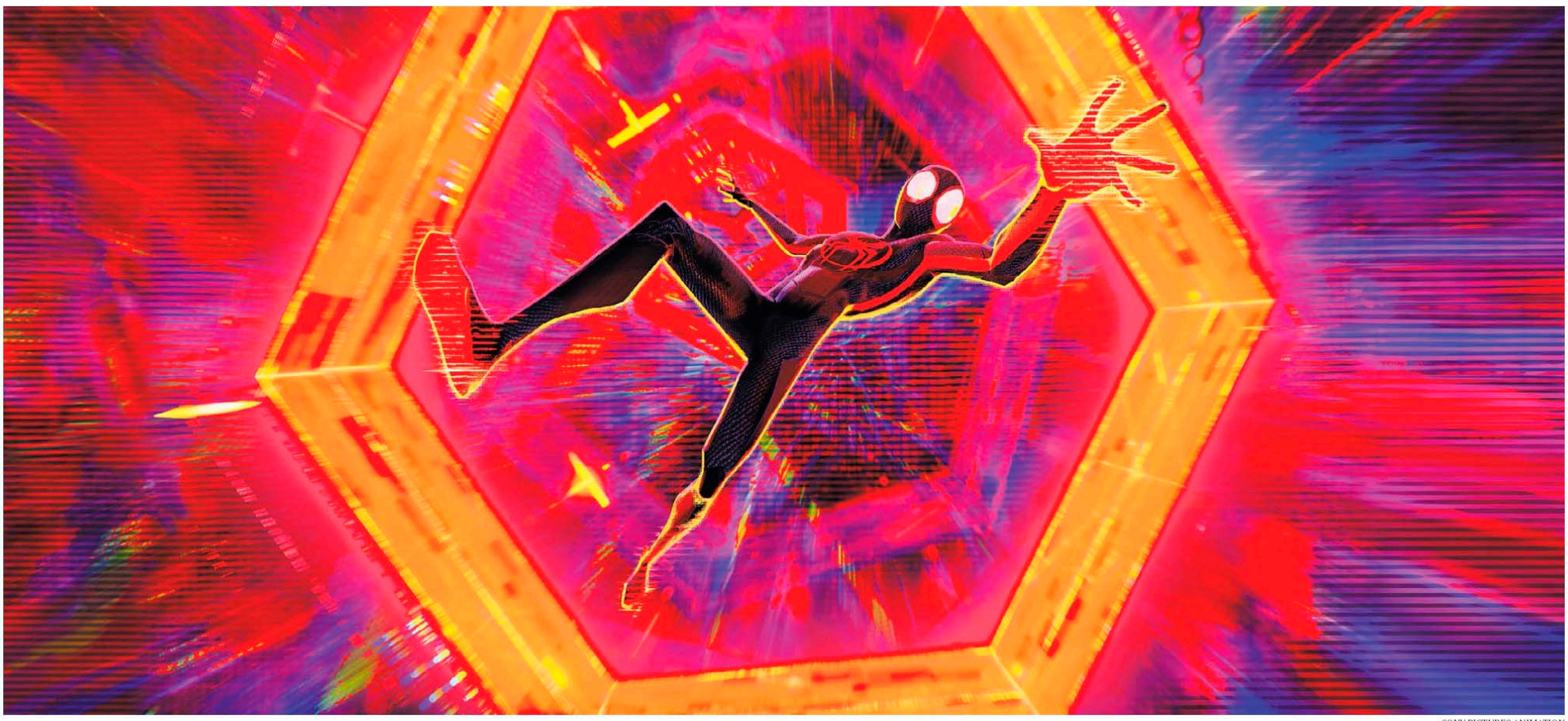
Movies

MAYA PHILLIPS | FILM REVIEW



SONY PICTURES ANIMATION

To Web Spinners, There Is No End

This sequel to the 2018 animated reboot expands the multiverse concept, and includes a Spider Society.

Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verse
CRITIC'S PICK
Rated PG for ferocious web-slinging and spider-trauma. Running time: 2 hours 20 minutes. In theaters.

QUESTION: HOW MANY Spider-Men does it take to make a successful multiverse sequel?

I'm not certain, but it might be the countless number of Spideys that appear in the delightful "Spider-Man: Across the Spider-Verse."

A follow-up to the appropriately praised "Spider-Man: Into the Spider-Verse," this animated movie takes place a year after the Brooklyn teen and newly minted Spider-Man, Miles Morales (voiced again by Shameik Moore), was bitten by a radioactive spider. In "Into the Spider-Verse," from 2018, Miles learned how to be his city's friendly neighborhood Spider-Man with the help of five other Spider-heroes — all different Spidey incarnations transported from their original universes after a supercollider explosion tore through the multiverse. Now Miles is 15, and though he has a handle on his powers, he's struggling to balance academics with his extracurricular hero work, on top of the usual adolescent woes.

As Miles's parents get increasingly suspicious about their son's double life, he has to fend off the pesky villain Spot (Jason Schwartzman, as the perfect goober), who powers up into a "transdimensional superbeing" who poses a real threat to the multiverse.

In her separate universe, Gwen Stacy (Hailee Steinfeld), a.k.a. Spider-Woman, Miles's pal and quasi-romantic interest from the first film, joins a task force of multiverse-jumping heroes called the Spider Society. They chase anomalies stuck in the wrong world in missions led by the brooding Spider-Man 2099, Miguel O'Hara (Oscar Isaac). But once Gwen and Miles reunite, and Miles discovers the Spider Society, he finds out *he* might actually be the real threat to the Spider-Verse.

"Spider-Verse" achieves the challenging task of building a sequel that not only replicates the charms of the first film but also expands the multiverse concept, the main characters and the stakes, without overinflating the premise or shamelessly capitalizing on fan service. In other words, "Across the Spider-Verse" pulls off a "Spider-Man: No Way Home," the Tom Holland vehicle that also played with alternate versions of Spider-Man, better than "No Way Home" did. That includes its inclusion of clips and cameos from former animated and live-action Spider-Man media, which nicely cohere with the rest of the film.

The Spider Society, with its delightfully bizarre potpourri of spider-entities (i.e., a Spider-Cowboy, Spider-Cat, Spider-Baby and Spider-Dinosaur), offers many opportunities for the movie to show off a compelling blend of visual gags, palettes and animation styles. The eye-catching action sequences among the Spider-folk serve the delectable chaos of a meme (yes, that pointing meme) exploded in a big-screen format.

Each Spidey we encounter, even briefly, is fully realized, and a welcome addition to the story, even for those who might not pick up on the deep-cut references to the '80s and '90s comics. Pavitr Prabhakar (Karan Soni), a.k.a. Spider-Man India, is designed with nods to contemporary Indian fashion. Spider-Punk (Daniel Kaluuya), a contrarian cool-guy rocker with combat boots, piercings and a devil-may-care attitude, is drawn in the wild 2-D-collage style of album covers, concert fliers and zines from the '80s London punk scene. And the way they move — Pavitr's fluid web-slinging, Spider-Punk's stomps and thrashing and Gwen's graceful acrobatics and en pointe landings — express as much about the characters as the buoyant dialogue and highly stylized character designs.

That's not even counting the work of the impressive voice cast. Issa Rae brings an affable tough-love vibe to her pregnant, kinky-haired, motorcycle-riding Spider-Woman Jessica Drew. And Isaac, who brings as an exacting a performance as he did in the Disney+ series "Moon Knight," is well-cast as the slightly unhinged and self-serious Spider-Man, à la the Dark Knight.

Steinfeld's Gwen, a fan fave, thankfully gets more spotlight in this film, which delves deeper into her tragic back story and her feelings of displacement in her world, particularly in her own home. She gets a driving pop-punk theme — part of a killer soundtrack raging with rock, hip-hop and reggaeton — and a stunning color-streaked aesthetic, with soft pinks and lavenders and heavy brushstrokes, creating an almost immersive comic book experience.

The directing team, Joaquim Dos Santos, Kemp Powers and Justin K. Thompson, builds a beautifully realistic, multicultural New York through details: a wheelchair basketball game in full swing on a nearby court, or a shelf of beef patties displayed in a Jamaican bodega.

Both "Spider-Verse" films, in what will be a trilogy, create dimension in these kinds of details, and I don't just mean the animation.

Above, the Miles Morales Spider-Man (voiced again by Shameik Moore) is joined by countless Spider-beings.

(Though, to be fair, the infinite reach of the city skyline, as viewed upside down from Gwen and Miles's purview, is a satisfying visual callback to the first film and its own illustrative feat.) The dimension is in the thrust of the story itself.

This isn't just another multiverse slogfest but a bildungsroman. Because what else is adolescence but a confrontation with the various possibilities in life, the infinite selves you can be? It's about figuring out one's identity — superhero or otherwise — and finding a place to belong. The fact that Miles and Gwen also shoot webs and swing around skyscrapers is incidental to their emotional arcs in the film.

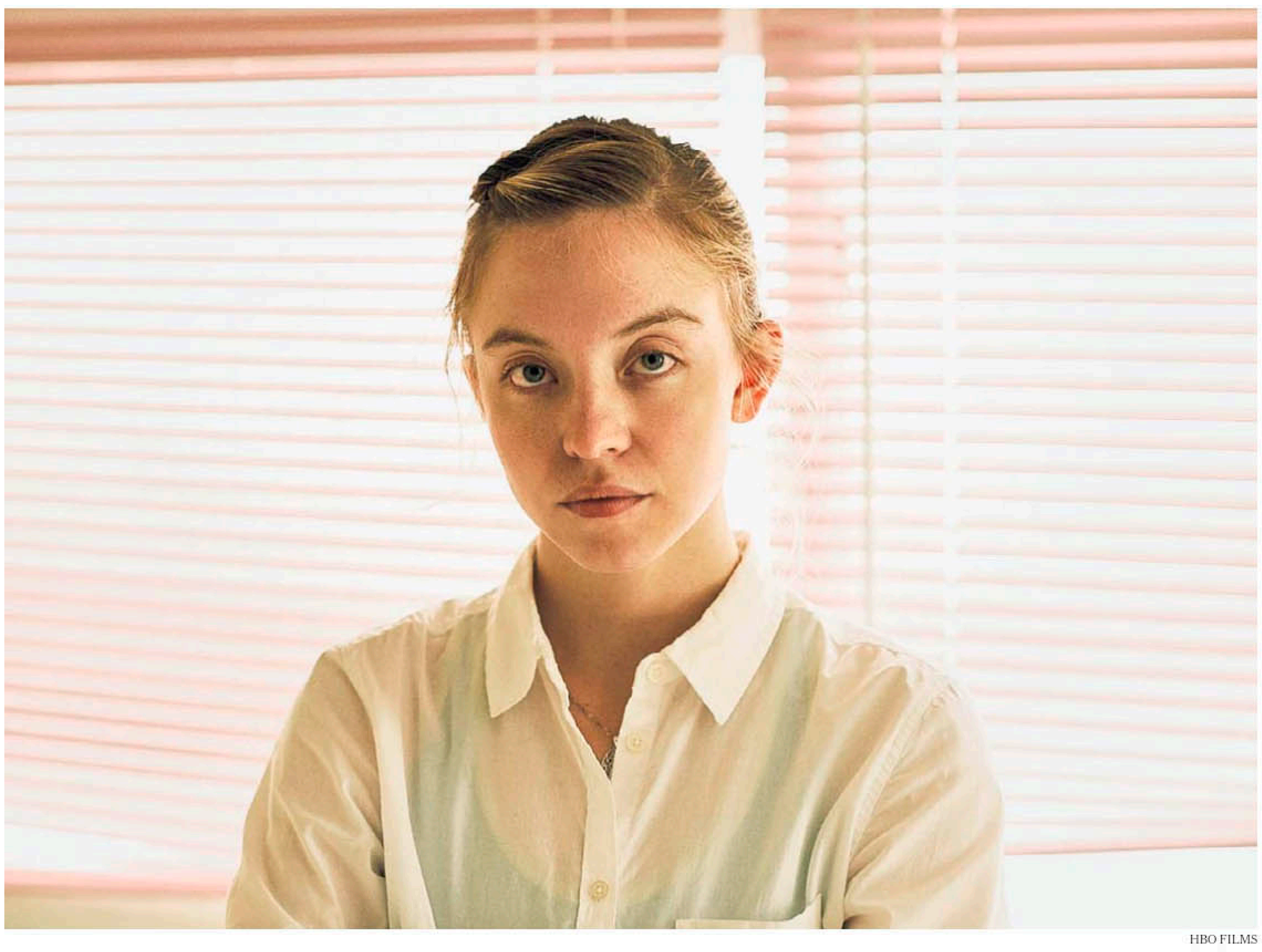
"Spider-Verse" also asks intriguing questions about the limitations of the canon, and whether tragedy is a prerequisite for a Spider-Man origin story — the death of an Uncle Ben or Aunt May or Uncle Aaron. And whether trauma completely defines these heroes — and, if so, if they can find kinship in that.

The most disappointing part of "Spider-Verse" is the merciless cliffhanger of an ending, ushering the film into a tradition of two-parters with too much story and too little time to tell it. But "Across the Spider-Verse" is never dull, nor precious with its characters and comedy. Which I suppose just proves that when it comes to a Spidey census, two's a team, three's a party and hundreds is a multiverse crawling with opportunities.

AMY NICHOLSON | FILM REVIEW

Examining A Most Unusual Suspect

A film adaptation of the play 'Is This a Room' looks at the questioning of Reality Winner.



HBO FILMS

Sydney Sweeney stars as Reality Winner in a gripping HBO docudrama.

REALITY WINNER'S LIFE changed six years ago in June when F.B.I. agents showed up at her home in Georgia. By the end of the encounter, Winner, who was then a 25-year-old former U.S. Air Force linguist, had been arrested, accused of leaking a top-secret report that included details of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential vote.

In 2018, she was imprisoned under the 1917 Espionage Act, a disappointing outcome for her family and some advocacy groups who saw her as a whistle-blower who deserved better from the American democracy she'd stuck her neck out to protect. They maintain that Winner was repeatedly wronged, including by journalists whose actions provided clues to her identity and by federal agents who they say questioned her without first reading her Miranda rights.

I'm giving this background because Tina Satter's gripping docudrama "Reality" doesn't. Satter strips the political context from that first F.B.I. interrogation to present a study in social dynamics: one awkward young woman (Sydney Sweeney) and the two placid inquisitors (Josh Hamilton and Marchánt Davis) who've isolated her in a back room to distract her with chitchat about CrossFit while other agents comb through the house. Winner does not realize her peril. Working from the official transcript, Satter finds that the young woman is primarily concerned with the safety of her pets. "Can I close the door for my cat?" she asks. "That's all I care about right now."

Tina Satter strips away the political context to focus on social dynamics.

The banality is chilling. Satter has already staged this conversation, Off Broadway in 2019, and then on Broadway in 2021, with the show's title, "Is This a Room," taken from one of the transcript's more absurdist quotes. Satter, a veteran theater director, makes a smooth transition into her feature film debut, written with James Paul Dallas. She's skilled at evoking tension from a minimal set. Her lighting is intelligent and controlled — you sense Winner's last free sunset slipping past through the windows — as the whining, almost mosquito-pesky sound design (Ryan Billia) and score (Nathan Micay) make your jaw clench. The new medium allows for a new flourish. Whenever the transcription stumbles across a redaction, the image glitches as the characters disappear into a poof of pixels, snapping back when someone says, appropriately, "Reality!"

Reality
CRITIC'S PICK
Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 23 minutes. On Max.

Not every stunt works. When Winner imagines a fantasy in which she's able to seize control, the personality shift that might have been successful within the boundaries of the stage loses impact once the scene starts cutting around. Detail-minded viewers may also notice that the movie has taken the liberty of altering two facts: It changes the weight on Winner's drivers license (but keeps her joke about fudging it) and, more mysteriously, gussies up her cat, trading her black shorthair for a fluffy white princess. The smartest adjustment, however, is in how the talented Sweeney delivers her lines. Her Winner is no longer jittery, or nervous. Now, she's watchful and charming, even while fighting not to flush. She's a good little soldier.

FILM REVIEWS

CARGO FILM & RELEASING

The Rev. Dr. Norvel Goff Sr., left, is featured in "After Sherman," a documentary directed by Jon-Sesrie Goff, right.

EMMANUELLE JACOBSON-ROQUES/BLUE FOX ENTERTAINMENT

Marion Barbeau, a dancer with the Paris Opera Ballet, makes her acting debut in "Rise."

YELLOW VEIL PICTURES

Joseph Engel and Sara Montpetit, who star in the drama "Falcon Lake."

After Sherman

Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 28 minutes. In theaters.

CRITIC'S PICK

In the elegiac documentary "After Sherman," cameras glide along waterways, soar above marshes, contemplate churches and travel down Southern roads lined by trees, the moss hanging like braids. Under the director Jon-Sesrie Goff's gaze, these places are sacred, even as they remain haunted by a nation's grievous racial history.

"I'm Gullah, born in exile," says Goff, who is based in New York, describing his place among the Gullah Geechee people of South Carolina.

The film focuses on Goff's father, the Rev. Dr. Norvel Goff Sr., a descendant of formerly enslaved people who purchased land in South Carolina after Emancipation. Goff Sr., who owns property in the Lowcountry, was also the interim pastor at Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, after a self-identified white supremacist killed nine Black parishioners gathered for Bible study one evening in June 2015.

While shucking oysters, son and father discuss what it means to forgive. There is nuance in Goff Sr.'s understanding of why some victims' families extended forgiveness to the killer. There is also reasonable ire from a Charleston resident and tour guide, Alphonso Brown, who shares that although he's a Christian, he won't do the same.

Goff Sr. is central to "After Sherman," but the director also choreographs a poignant tango between his personal journey with his formidable father and the lives of a people and a region. Braiding interviews, animation (by Kelly Gallagher) and home movies, and using intertitles made nearly incantatory by being whispered, the film is expressionistic but never at a cost to its subjects and archival material.

A quietly plaintive score by the composer Tamar-kali provides rooted resonance to this investigative and intimate work of belonging. A work that speaks to, as the director says, "a history of knowing who we are and whose we are."

LISA KENNEDY

Rise

Not rated. In French, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 57 minutes. In theaters.

The amiable dance film "Rise" begins with a wordless sequence backstage at a Parisian ballet performance. The 26-year-old soloist, Elise (Marion Barbeau), is readying for her grand entrance when she spots her boyfriend furtively smooching a fellow company member. Distraught and preoccupied, Elise jams her ankle during a jeté, causing an injury that could require surgery.

The remainder of "Rise," directed by Cédric Klapisch, traces Elise's lengthy but rather untroubled road to recovery, both of body and of confidence. Much of this coming-of-age work occurs at a picturesque artists' retreat in a seaside villa where Elise, limping but breezy, accepts a job preparing meals. And what luck that her cooking gig should coincide with the residency of an esteemed contemporary dance troupe — one that includes a break-dancing hunk, Mehdi (Mehdi Baki), who Elise had admired back home.

This is a sweet, uncomplicated story relayed with enough entrancing dance breaks to fill an American halftime show. In her acting debut, Barbeau, a dancer with the Paris Opera Ballet, is mesmerizing in motion, and her training is obvious; she points her toes even while jogging. Some of the movie's themes feel labored, such as a drawn-out discourse comparing the rigidity of ballet to the freedom of modern choreography. It drives home a point we already intuit: the dialogue is incidental when the dancing is this expressive.

NATALIA WINKELMAN

Falcon Lake

Not rated. In French and English, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 40 minutes. In theaters.

Directed by Charlotte Le Bon, the coming-of-age drama "Falcon Lake" is a story of summer love steeped in the eeriness of a wilderness slasher. A ghost supposedly haunts the secluded Quebec lake where a 13-year-old, Bastien (Joseph Engel), is vacationing with his family, at a cabin owned by their friends. Chloé (Sara Montpetit), the moody 16-year-old daughter of their hosts, gets a thrill out of playing dead: In one scene, she has Bastien take her picture as she poses on a dirt road like a corpse.

Still scrawny and awkward yet overflowing with hormones, Bastien finds Chloé more terrifying — and fascinating — than any bogey. Like "The Virgin Suicides," the film unfolds from the teenage boy's besotted perspective. But relative to the hapless narrator of Sofia Coppola's young-adult classic, Bastien grows close to his mysterious object of desire, a Wednesday Addams type without the misanthropic streak. Chloé plays the experienced cool girl with ease, taking Bastien on wine-fueled hiking adventures and to a house party with her obnoxious guy pals. She also casually undresses in front of Bastien as if he's her kid brother, but Montpetit gives these actions a knowingly flirtatious glint. Chloé is teasing her repressed companion, bringing him out of his shell as she steps out of her own — Chloé gives Bastien a taste of adulthood's pleasures while Bastien allows her the freedom to be a kid again.

"Falcon Lake" is a handsome, intriguing feature directing debut from Le Bon; a naturalistic teenage romance spiked with mystique, thanks to its subtly menacing deep-woods setting and quivering 16-millimeter cinematography by Kristof Brandl. Death and desire swirl around the film's charged atmosphere, though Le Bon has trouble meaningfully bringing out these elements in the narrative itself, hastily throwing in ambiguities in the last act to create a weightier sense of drama. The effect falls flat.

BEATRICE LOAYZA

Padre Pio

Rated R for themes, violence, Shia LaBeouf's language. Running time: 1 hour 44 minutes. In theaters.

We are now in the month of June, so the idea of Shia LaBeouf in the title role of a fictionalized biography of the revered and controversial Italian cleric Padre Pio directed by Abel Ferrara has a low probability of being some kind of April Fool's joke. This is a real movie. And alas, an occasionally rank one.

Now Ferrara hasn't even attempted a conventional biopic of the man born Francesco Forgione at the end of the 19th century, and who, according to some accounts, started displaying stigmata after an illness-plagued childhood. And that's to his credit. Rather, he's attempted a sometimes Brechtian consideration of the nodes of political history and spirituality.

The movie is set in the Italy between two world wars, during which time Pio was a priest in San Giovanni Rotondo, where he spent his entire life. (And where a 1920 Fascist-initiated massacre of civilians took place; the movie ends with a depiction of it.) Ferrara's narrative toggles between Padre Pio's cloistered, spiritually tormented existence and the Socialist and Fascist factions competing to transform Italy at the time.

LaBeouf essays a rather, let's say, contemporary Pio. And completely sinks the picture. Early in the movie Pio is asked by an interrogator about the "countless" women "you had your narcissistic way with." Who's under scrutiny here, the character, or LaBeouf himself, who's recently faced allegations of sexual abuse from more than one woman? Later, a male character played by Asia Argento confesses feeling lust for his own daughter, and LaBeouf's Pio, utterly callow in spite of his prodigious beard, tells him to shut-the-you-know-what-up. He detaches the movie from the Brechtian and lands it firmly in the territory of "improv scene workshop gone horribly wrong."

GLENN KENNY

Shooting Stars

Rated PG-13 for strong language, some suggestive references and teen drinking. Running time: 1 hour 55 minutes. On Peacock.

Knowing that every inch of LeBron James's life and career has been covered by the media in the past, it may be hard to justify "Shooting Stars," a film focused not exactly on James's rise as a phenom but instead on his high school squad. The movie is in essence an adaptation not only of a memoir of the same name (written by James and the journalist Buzz Bissinger, and released in 2009), but also of another film, the 2009 documentary "More Than a Game."

Yet for what it sets out to do, detailing the bond of young boys under surreal circumstances, "Shooting Stars" is a relatively sturdy retelling. Directed by Chris Robinson, the movie tracks the story of James and his childhood friends over four years as they conquer the high school basketball landscape and reckon with the complications of a growing spotlight.

Remarkably, the drama is buoyed less by the implicit understanding of who James went on to become than by the young actors, who share an infectious chemistry. (It helps that they all appear to be truly good at basketball.)

The star is Marquis Cook, known as Mookie, an actual high school basketball recruit who naturally embodies a young LeBron — the boyish shyness nestled within messianic potential — likely because he is, as a young star, experiencing a version of what James did.

BRANDON YU

Concerned Citizen

Not rated. In Hebrew, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 22 minutes. In theaters and available to rent or buy on most major platforms.

Ben (Shlomi Bertonov) lives with his boyfriend, Raz (Ariel Wolf), in a gentrifying neighborhood of Tel Aviv. They got a great deal — their apartment would have cost twice as much in a more central area of the city. And Ben has already done his part to spruce up the block by planting a thin tree across the street.

So it bugs him when he sees two Eritrean immigrants chatting by the sapling, with one leaning against it in a way that could snap it. He talks with them, and the issue seems resolved. But when Ben spots the man leaning again, he calls the authorities. He lies and says the city planted the tree. A little while later, out of his window, he sees one of the young men savagely beaten by police.

The guilt Ben feels over the violence he caused — it may even have been a killing; he initially doesn't have confirmation of the victim's fate — is the driving force of "Concerned Citizen," an Israeli feature from the writer-director Idan Haguel. Did Ben overreact? Is he a secret racist? He mentions the incident to various people, but always fudges the specifics to disavow his involvement. He tries to sell the apartment without Raz's knowledge.

Haguel builds this brief but densely structured film in an interestingly modular, rhythmic way, thanks to a percussive score by Zoe Polanski and occasional, abrupt cuts to black following key scenes. But the movie's ending is far too easy: It gives Ben a second chance to prove his true values, as if the consequences of his previous failure could be waved away.

BEN KENIGSBERG

The Boogeyman

Rated PG-13 for a hanging corpse, a malevolent molar and an evil whatsit. Running time: 1 hour 38 minutes. In theaters.

"The Boogeyman," extrapolated from a minor 1970s short story by Stephen King, might conceivably make sense to viewers with no access to proper lighting or functioning windows. For the rest of us, though, this near-indecipherable movie — as murky in plot and payoff as in setting — demands such a total suspension of rationality that its few scary moments struggle to land.

Painted in the broadest of strokes, the story introduces the psychiatrist Will Harper (Chris Messina), his teenage daughter, Sadie (a memorable Sophie Thatcher), and her younger sister, Sawyer (Vivien Lyra Blair). The recent death of their mother is causing Sadie to struggle at school and Sawyer to suffer night terrors. Will, unable to process his loss, has simply withdrawn — until a haggard stranger (David Dastmalchian) walks into his office and claims a supernatural entity slaughtered his three children. And, oh yes, he might have brought it with him.

Unexpressed grief is fertile ground for all manner of ghouls and goblins, but "The Boogeyman," despite a promisingly skin-crawling opening, barely rakes the topsoil. Horrible events accumulate, inchoate images whoosh past, black webbing sprouts on walls and ceilings. But the director, Rob Savage, is so stingy with detail — What does the beastie want? Where did it come from? Is there more than one? — that Russell Topal's eerie sound design does most of the heavy lifting. Idiocies abound: Characters scream blue murder, apparently unheard by family members in the same house; a creature that feeds on darkness is battled by burning dozens of miniature candles instead of, say, shining a flashlight.

Accordingly, squint and strain as we might, the monster never satisfyingly takes shape, either visually or narratively. This isn't a home that's been invaded by a boogeyman; it's a home that's been expressly designed for one.

JEANNETTE CATSOULIS

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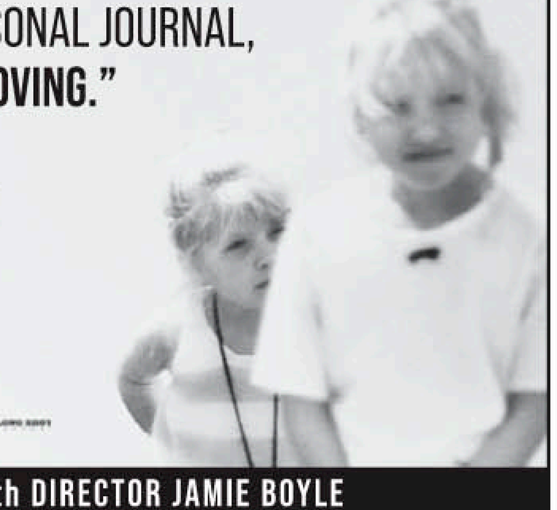

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CONCERNED CITIZEN 12:50PM, 2:55, 7:00, 9:05PM
*Q&A WITH DIR. IDAN HAGUEL AT 7:00 FRI-SAT & 2:55 SUN
ANONYMOUS SISTER 10:40AM, 2:50PM, 7:15PM
*Q&A WITH DIR. JAMIE BOYLE AT 7:15 FRI, SAT, TUE & 2:50 SAT-SUN
LYNCH/OZ 1:30PM, 4:00, 6:30, 9:00PM
THE FILMS OF DAVID LYNCH INFO AT IFCCENTER.COM
WILL-O'-THE-WISP 4:55PM, 6:45, 9:30PM
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BLACKBERRY 12:55PM, 4:10PM, 8:50PM OPEN CAPTIONS SAT, TUE 12:55 & SUN, MON 8:50
MOON GARDEN 10:45AM + FRI-SAT 11:20PM
MONICA 11:00AM, 3:35PM, 6:15PM OPEN CAPTIONS SAT, TUE 3:35PM & SUN, MON 6:15
CHILE '76 5:00PM
WAVERLY MIDNIGHTS FRI-SAT A CLOCKWORK ORANGE 11:00PM
ALIENS 11:10PM
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Houston St (w. of 6 Av) 212-727-8110
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WHITE BALLS ON WALLS 12:40, 2:40, 6:50
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This weekend SERPICO, KLUTE, A NEW LEAF, DOG DAY AFTERNOON, and more
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32 SOUNDS 4:40 & 8:50
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*Q&A: AFTER 6:00PM SHOW
MASTER GARDNER 10:45AM, 1:20, 4:00, 6:30, 9:00PM
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"LIVELY, ENGAGING AND MOVING" - THE NEW YORK TIMES
THE YOGI BERRA STORY
*IT AIN'T OVER 4:00PM
CLOSE TO VERMEER 6:10PM
PATRICIA CLARKSON STARRING IN
*MONICA 8:00PM
SATURDAY • JUNE 3
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LIVING 12:15PM
*IT AIN'T OVER 2:30PM
*THE EIGHT MOUNTAINS 4:45PM
CLOSE TO VERMEER 7:40PM
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THE MESMERIZING FILMS OF JOSEF VON STERNBERG & MARLENE DIETRICH
10:30AM FILM LECTURE WITH MAX ALVAREZ
MOROCCO 12:15PM
Q&A AFTER SCREENING WITH HISTORIAN MAX ALVAREZ
"A LITTLE-KNOWN HISTORY OF THE NUREMBERG TRIALS" - THE NEW YORKER
FILMMAKERS FOR THE PROSECUTION 2:30PM
SPECIAL INTRO BY PRODUCER SANDRA SCHULBERG
CLOSE TO VERMEER 4:00PM
*OTHER PEOPLE'S CHILDREN 6:00PM
*NEW YORK TIMES CRITIC'S PICK!

QUAD CINEMA
34 WEST 13TH ST QUADCINEMA.COM SUN SHOWTIMES
NOW PLAYING
SUZANNE RAES'S CLOSE TO VERMEER 11:45AM 3:30PM 5:30PM 7:00PM 9:45PM
CÉDRIC KLAPISCH'S RISE 12:00PM 2:25PM 4:50PM 7:15PM 9:40PM
DOMINIK MOLL'S THE NIGHT OF THE 12TH
EXCLUSIVE MANHATTAN ENGAGEMENT 1:00PM 7:20PM 9:00PM
ARI ASTER'S BEAU IS AFRAID 1:30PM 5:00PM 8:30PM
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VADIM PERELMAN'S ACADEMY AWARD-NOMINATED HOUSE OF SAND AND FOG
35MM PRINT 2:00PM 4:40PM

Film at Lincoln Center
WERCKMEISTER HARMONIES 12:00, 5:15PM (NEW 4K RESTORATION)
MASTER GARDENER 3:00, 8:15PM
CHILE '76 1:45, 4:00PM
HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH FILM FESTIVAL
RAZING LIBERTY SQUARE: 6:30PM (WITH Q&A)
OPEN ROADS: NEW ITALIAN CINEMA
CHIARA: 3:00PM (WITH Q&A) • DRY: 6:00PM (WITH Q&A)

MANOHLA DARGIS | FILM REVIEW

Recalling Yesterday, Exploring Tomorrow

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1
then she will be long gone.

This is the filmmaking debut of the Korean-Canadian-American playwright Celine Song ("Endlings"), who also wrote the script. Its narrative shape is fairly familiar: It opens in the present and then flashes back 24 years to when Nora was a girl in pigtails whose family was about to immigrate to Canada. In unfussy, naturalistic scenes and with onscreen text that marks the passage of time, Song follows Nora and Hae Sung as they go their different ways and reunite online a dozen years later as young adults. After a brief virtual reunion, they part ways. Another 12 years pass and they reconnect a second time.

The movie's modesty — its intimacy, human scale, humble locations and lack of visual oomph — is one of its strengths. The characters live in homes that are pleasant yet ordinary, the kind that you can imagine hanging out in, the kind you *want* to hang out in. There are few big, look-at-me details,

Past Lives
CRITIC'S PICK
Rated PG-13. In English and Korean, with subtitles. Running time: 1 hour 46 minutes. In theaters.

though you might notice a poster for Jacques Rivette's 1974 classic "Céline and Julie Go Boating" in Nora's father's home office in Seoul. Without making too much of this cinephile allusion, there's a moment in the Rivette that does seem germane: "Your future is behind you," one character says to another, which could serve as a tagline for this movie.

Song draws you into her characters' worlds seamlessly. As "Past Lives" develops, she toggles between Nora and Hae Sung at home and out and about, lightly sketching in how their everyday lives have developed. Even so, Nora — and Lee's delicately calibrated performance — remains the movie's gravitational center. By the time Nora is in her 20s, she is living in New York and has become a playwright. On a whim, she looks up Hae Sung on Facebook and discovers that he's still in South Korea and has also searched for her. The two are soon regularly video chatting until Nora decides she needs to commit to her life in New York.

These scenes of Nora and Hae Sung reconnecting are pleasant, partly because Lee and Yoo are both nice to spend time with. But as the days give way to one night after another, this interlude can also feel drifty and even a little innocuous, almost like filler. That's partly because although Yoo is awfully nice to look at, and while Song continues to add in details about Hae Sung's life in South Korea, the character never takes deep root in the story the way that Nora does. For much of it, he is effectively a ghostly figure, a beautiful specter on a laptop screen whose open face hides very little, including Hae Sung's vulnerability and yearning.

All this feels as specific, intentional and meaningful as the sight of different lovers embracing all around Nora and Hae Sung

A24

JIN YOUNG KIM/A24

Top, Teo Yoo and Greta Lee in "Past Lives." Above, Seung Min Yim, left, and Seung Ah Moon in the film, written and directed by Celine Song.

when, another 12 years later, they finally reconnect in person in New York. By then, each has settled into their respective lives, have separate histories, have made different memories. They have distinct personalities and ways of taking up space, and each has had a serious relationship, Nora's with her husband, Arthur (John Magaro, wonderful). Like Hae Sung, Arthur has a sweet, transparent face that hides little, including the hurt that Nora sometimes causes him, one difference being that he actually lives with her.

It's important to Song's overall design that one of the most crucial and extended sequences in "Past Lives" takes place not long after Nora breaks off with Hae Sung when they're young adults. She's rocked by their encounter, but she is soon en route to a writers retreat, an emblem of the horizons first glimpsed in her girlhood. Here, for the only time in the movie, Song lingers over a physical space, in this case a handsome, sunlit country house, a home. Nora lingers too in these rooms, and shortly after she settles in, another writer — Arthur — follows. Song stages and shoots his arrival from Nora's room, the camera pointing through the open window as she lies asleep in her bed. She misses Arthur's entrance, but soon after, Nora emerges from her room, awake in a present that — for the first time — feels like the future.

MANOHLA DARGIS | FILM REVIEW

Pulling Back the Curtain on a Cinematic Fixation

JANUS FILMS

A documentary explores how 'The Wizard of Oz' figures into a director's surreal films.

THE NOVELIST J. G. BALLARD once observed that David Lynch's 1986 freakout "Blue Velvet" is "'The Wizard of Oz' reshot with a script by Kafka and décor by Francis Bacon." Lynch lovers have long known that the filmmaker has a thing for "Oz" and its alternative realities: In "Blue Velvet," a tragic woman named Dorothy wears red shoes; in

Lynch/Oz
Not rated. Running time: 1 hour 48 minutes. In theaters.

Lynch's "Wild at Heart" (1990), a Good Witch floats down from the sky in a bubblegum-pink orb à la Oz's Glinda. "If you're truly wild at heart," the Good Witch announces to the film's ultraviolent hero, "you'll fight for your dreams" — advice that sounds like a statement of Lynchian artistic belief.

In his frustrating documentary "Lynch/Oz," the writer-director Alexandre O. Philippe explores with scattershot results how "The Wizard of Oz" figures into Lynch's oeuvre. Divided into six chapters narrated and "hosted" (as the credits put it) by some half-dozen individual contributors, the movie is effectively an auteurist study in a boosterish key. (The film critic Amy Nicholson, a frequent contributor to The New York Times, is one of the hosts.) Outside of some originally shot material of an ornate theater, the visuals consist almost entirely of archival footage, primarily from Lynch's filmography as well as from interviews, ads, etc. — and what soon starts to feel like every single movie made since the dawn of motion pictures.

Each of the chapters in "Lynch/Oz" effectively functions as a mini-essay on the documentary's subject, with the hosts discours- scious, visual techniques, Lynch's work and occasionally their own. The filmmaker Rodney Ascher opens Chapter 2, "Membranes," for instance, somewhat confusingly by drawing lines between "Oz" and the Robert Zemeckis film "Back to the Future" (1985) as the split screen fills with snippets from both movies. Ascher says he doesn't know if "Oz" actually inspired "Back to the Future." Even so, "The Wizard of Oz" is "a really sturdy template," he continues, adding that it's "a provocative lens to look at, you know, a lot of different stories through."

In "Lynch/Oz," that lens gets smudged awfully fast. One problem is that the documentary restlessly circles back to a handful of films rather than, say, going deep on a single title. Ascher discusses "Mulholland Drive" (2001), and the director Karyn Kusama does the same in Chapter 4 ("Multitudes"). Ascher also talks about "Blue Velvet," a touchstone that the filmmakers Justin Benson and Aaron Moorhead return to in Chapter 5 ("Judy"). Even when a host doesn't specifically mention a Lynch movie, Philippe sometimes inserts a clip from one as if to illustrate a point, as when he includes dining scenes from different Lynch works to accompany a story Kusama tells about watching him eat syrupy pancakes when she waited tables.

It's amusing to hear John Waters talk about Lynch (in Chapter 3, "Kindred"), a contemporary he clearly admires. (Waters's section sounds like excerpts from a taped interview, while other chapters sound scripted.) And I could have happily listened a lot longer to Kusama, who sums up the Lynch-Oz nexus in one sentence: "When you look at Lynch's films, which are so driven by a law of the unconscious, why wouldn't 'Oz' be the foundational text for him?" Yet as the documentary repetitiously circles its subject and piles on greater numbers of clips — more than 50 movies are dropped into the 20-minute final chapter ("Dig"), hosted by the director David Lowery — whatever points Philippe is trying to

Fine Art

BLAKE GOPNIK | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

The Smothering Effect of Admiration

VIA THE BRANT FOUNDATION; PHOTO BY TOM POWELL

"I AM NOT CONVINCED this is painting myself. But it exists. Here it is." In the summer of 1962, that was as much zeal as the curator Sam Wagstaff dared show when he hung a huge Soup Can by Andy Warhol, giving the Pop artist his first museum play.

In 1964, after Warhol's American backers spurned his landmark Death and Disaster paintings, he was forced to premiere them in Paris, where he received a fearsome pan in Le Monde newspaper: "It's all very well for Warhol to take a single dramatic shot of a suicide or crash victim and silk-screen it all over a canvas, but that accumulation doesn't add or take away from what is fundamentally unique about any typical traffic accident — from what makes it anti-Pop."

Later that year, a couple of committed bohemians were so disgusted by the retreads Warhol was being paid to do of his first Marilyns that they put a bullet through a stack of those new commissions.

And now those once-suspect works — that very Soup Can, a great Car Crash, a bullet-pierced Marilyn — are on view in "Andy Warhol: Thirty Are Better Than One," a survey of five decades of purchases by Peter Brant in that collector's New York foundation in the East Village. They have never looked more impressive than afloat in the light and air and postindustrial glam of its repurposed substation.

Some 50 classic works of Pop are joined by a few of their 1950s antecedents and then by two dozen more post-Pop pictures: A Shadow, from 1978; a vast Oxidation that Warhol "painted" with urine around that same time; wall-filling examples of his Camouflage and Last Supper series, made just months before the artist's death in 1987. It's hard to imagine a better introduction to the glories of Warhol.

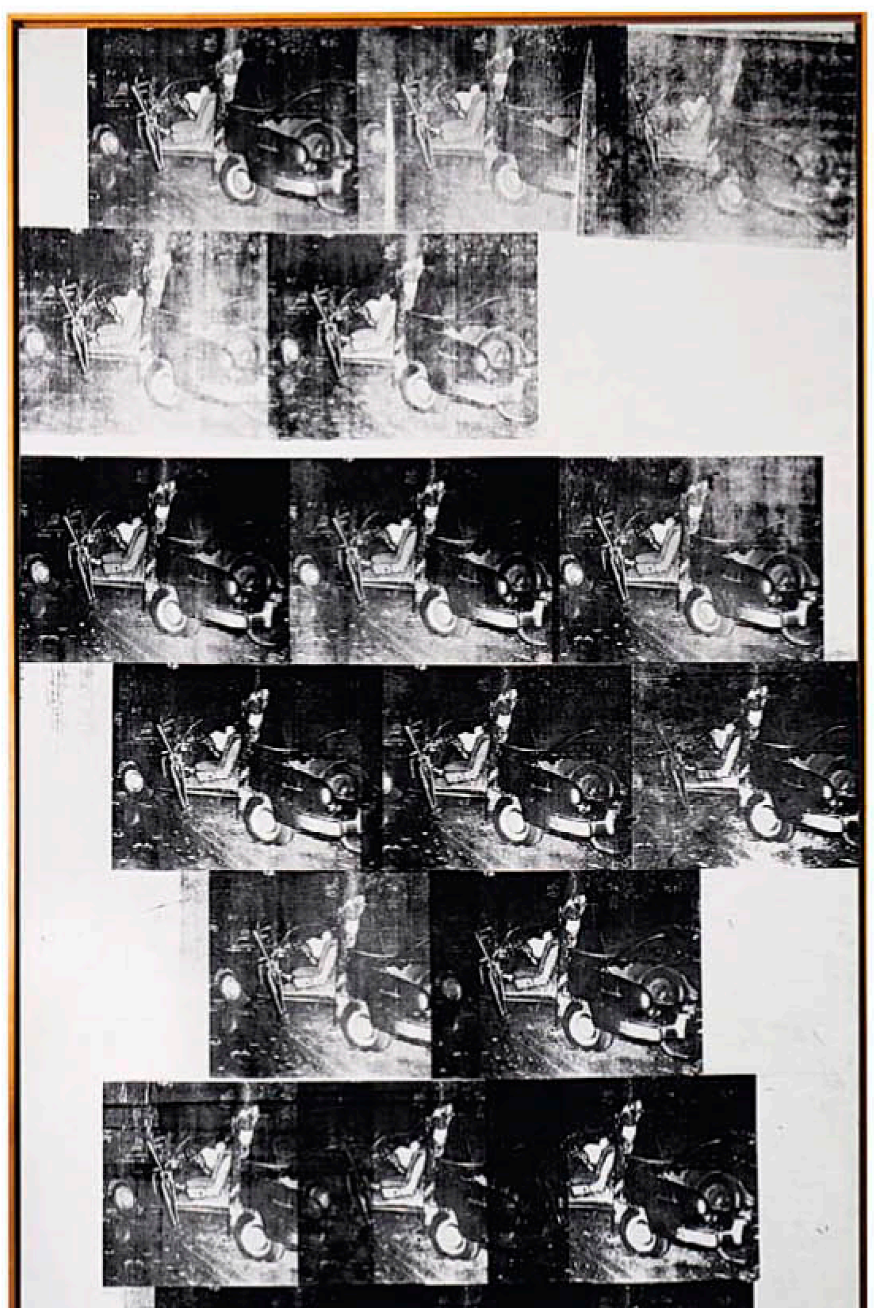
But maybe we'd be better off imagining a worse one — an introduction that helps us acknowledge not the rightness of Warhol's achievement, as it comes off today, but the profound and fertile wrongness that was in it from the start. In the plush setting of the Brant, it takes an effort to shake off the comfort his pictures now come with and rediscover the discomfort they once served up.

If it's standard to laugh at critics who failed to recognize the virtues of a great avant-gardist, in Warhol's case we should praise them for the "good trouble" their pans pointed out. Wagstaff, the curator, was maybe registering something important when he worried that Warhol's painted soup cans might deliver a deathblow to established notions of painting. When the critic in Le Monde noted that the accumulated imagery of a car-crash painting refused to either "add or take away" from its potent subject, he was quite right — that's what standard art did, but Warhol broke new ground by presenting his vexed subjects with the coldest deadpan. When Warhol took money to repeat his early icons they did indeed become "dead paintings," as he once called them, and those gun-toting bohemians only went wrong in seeing this as a cause for rage, not cogitation.

The Marilyn retreads they attacked should help us understand that more than almost any other artist, Warhol was willing to recognize how stuff that starts life looking like art can end it acting like currency. He already underlined that the first time he got to hang a Pop work in a commercial show, in the spring of 1962, when he displayed a big canvas onto which he'd printed images of 200 one-dollar bills, which he then priced at $200. (It's probably Warhol's first silk-screened painting; one of the treasures at the Brant is that work's near-identical twin, showing 196 bills. There's no record of whether it ever listed at $196.)

Where that first price tag got at Warhol's caustic essence, taking a jab at the way art and money might be the same thing, the prices his paintings fetch today define his works as the safest of deluxe commodities. Brant's big Soup Can cost him almost $30 million in 2017. Last November, he spent $85 million on his Car Crash. That spring, a twin of his Marilyn, but not quite as good, had sold at auction for $195 million; only Leonardo da Vinci's "Salvator Mundi" has topped it at auction. (Brant's Marilyn is better than the one sold in 2022 because you can see its bullet hole. Warhol once told Brant not to retouch it out.)

A survey of the Brant Foundation's Warhols can't fail to please, but maybe that is because we have learned to stifle the artist's true radicalism.



Above, an installation view of "Andy Warhol: Thirty Are Better Than One." On the back wall, from left: paintings from the series Rorschach (1984), Oxidation (1977-78) and Shadow (Red) (1978). From near right: Warhol's "Big Campbell's Soup Can With Can Opener (Vegetable)" (1962); and "White Disaster (White Car Crash 19 Times)" (1963), made with silk-screen ink and graphite on primed canvas. Below, familiar silk-screens and sculptures are part of the installation.

ARTWORKS VIA THE ANDY WARHOL FOUNDATION FOR THE VISUAL ARTS INC./ LICENSED BY ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK

"Who the heck is going to want to look at an eight-foot picture of a hideous car crash, Andy?" a friend once asked Warhol, using a stronger expletive. "You're going to kill your economy." To which the artist replied, "Oh well, it has to be done." He couldn't imagine that his market would grow to consume even crashes and suicides. It's almost as though our current culture of wealth has set out to neutralize Warhol's threat by diluting it in a flood of dollars.

Or maybe "threat" isn't quite the right word, since it implies a single, willed message that Warhol wanted to send. Instead, indecision and ambiguity are the true hallmarks of his art. They can do as much to vex an art lover as more obvious menace can.

Andy Warhol: Thirty Are Better Than One
Through July 30 at the Brant Foundation in Manhattan; 212-777-2297, brantfoundation.org to buy timed tickets.

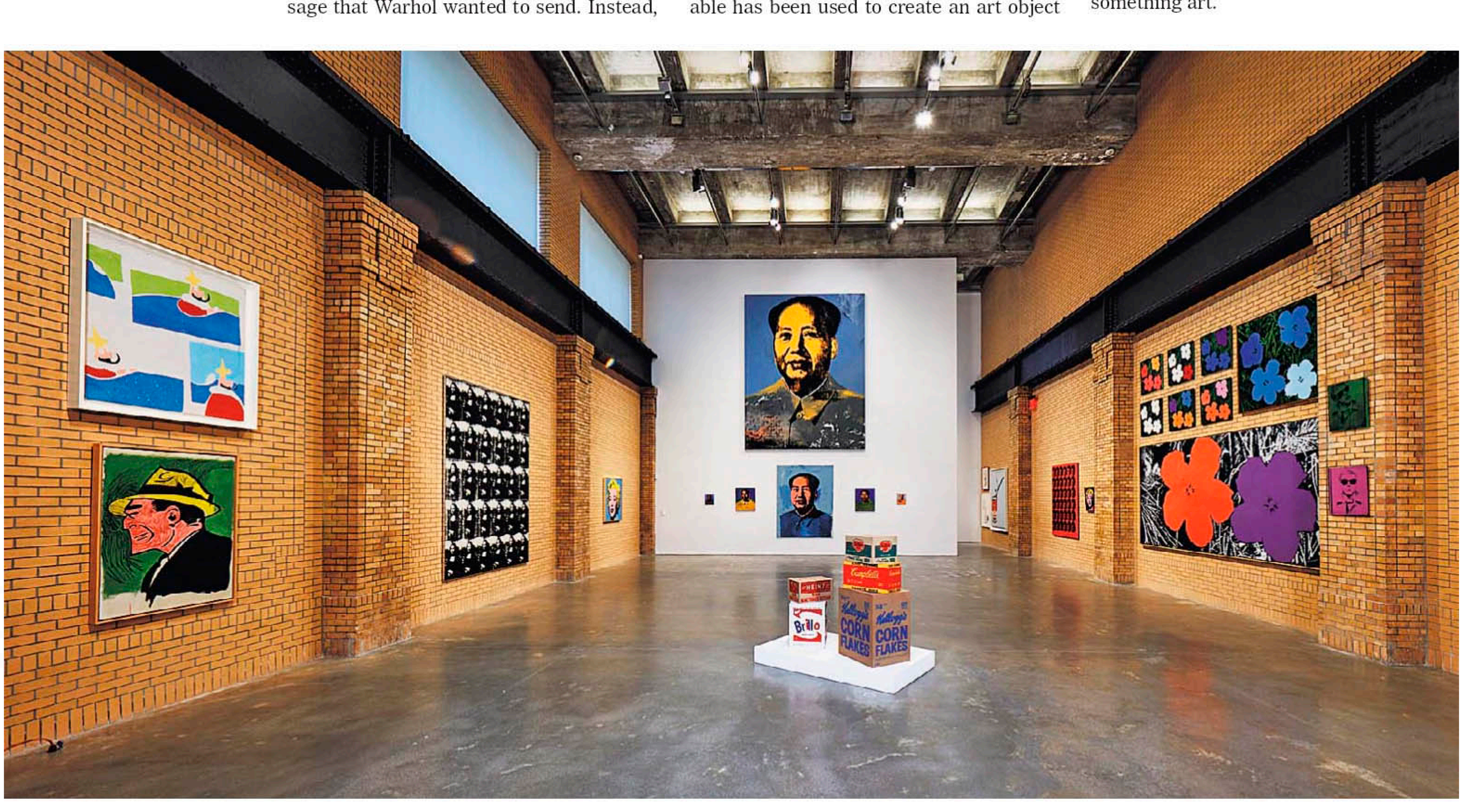
At the Brant, a canvas more than 13 feet tall comes covered in a vast Rorschach pattern, hand-blotted by Warhol in 1984. It's the apotheosis of a shape designed to be read differently by each viewer.

Another canvas from 1986, and a full 35 feet long, is silk-screened edge to edge to look like classic camouflage. That means a design meant to render something unseeable has been used to create an art object whose very essence is to be seen.

In these, like in almost all his best work, Warhol was getting to the heart of that weird thing called fine art, as it has played out over the last five centuries of Western culture: Its fundamental function is not to have a function — to be up for grabs, Rorschach-like, as each new audience comes to grips with any object presented as art. Philosophically, Western fine art can be defined as something that insists on being seen while perpetually camouflaging what it might be about.

Soup can or painting? Grisly accident or appealing pattern? Masterpiece or salable product?

"Yes," Warhol answers. That, his works at the Brant say, is the answer that makes something art.

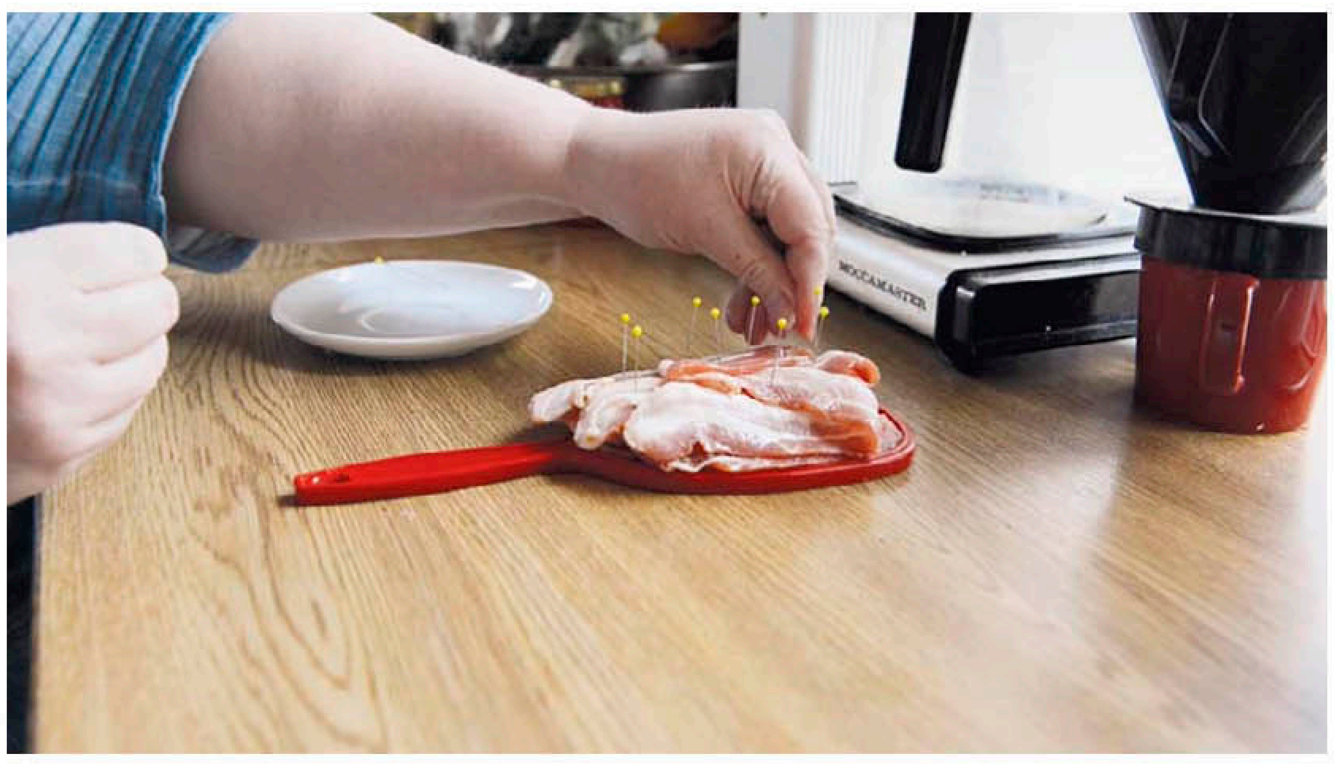


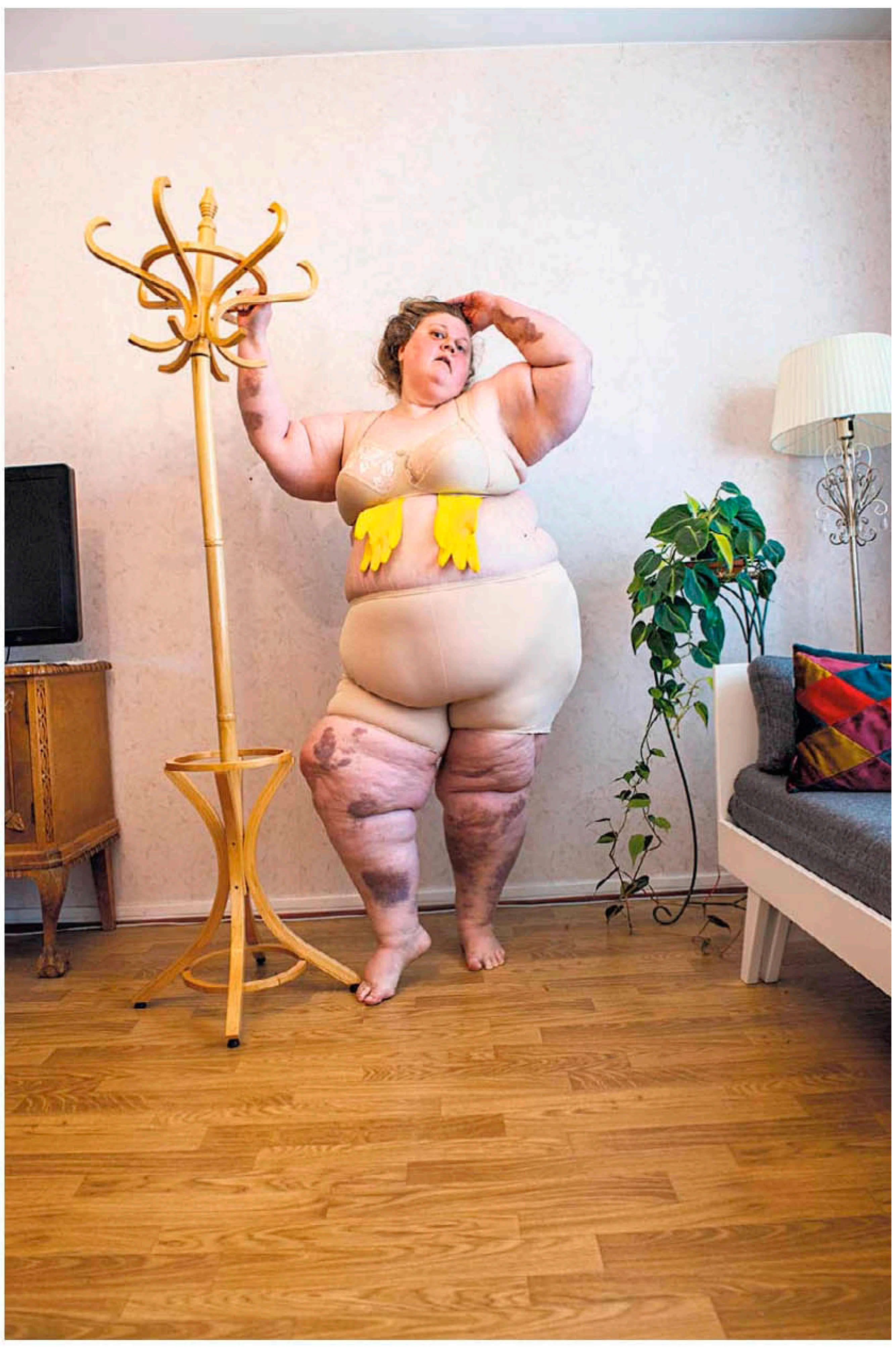
ROBERTA SMITH | ART REVIEW

She's Not Afraid To Make You Feel Uncomfortable

The Finnish artist Iiu Susiraja uses her XL body to bring depth to the genre of setup photography.

PHOTOGRAPHS VIA IIU SUSIRAJA; MAKASIINI CONTEMPORARY; NINO MIER GALLERY





Above: "Bad Legs" (2010) highlights the feet and calves of the artist Iiu Susiraja, who features herself in the exhibition "A Style Called a Dead Fish." Right, from top: "Woman" (2010) takes aim at contemporary body image issues, obsessions and taboos; from the video "Mirror" (2015), bacon on a mirror; the chromogenic print "Gloves" is also in the show.

THE STRANGE, discomfiting photographs and videos of the Finnish artist Iiu Susiraja push so many buttons that her provocative exhibition at MoMA PS1 should have been staged in an elevator — to paraphrase the theater critic Peter Marks. These powerful works take aim at a dizzying array of contemporary body image issues, obsessions and taboos, and from different angles, including fat shaming, fitness, obesity, standards of beauty, dysmorphia, self-loathing, self-love and of course sex.

Ambiguously titled "Iiu Susiraja: A Style Called a Dead Fish," the show features 49 photographs and 13 short videos from 2008 to 2022. Most are self-portraits that show her wryly using as props a variety of domestic items — stuffed animals, kitchen utensils and especially food. But the main character is Susiraja, a blond woman nearly six feet tall, who is extremely large, if not morbidly obese, and usually stares out at us with lofty indifference.

Like most artists whose work matters, Susiraja has no shame. She also presents something of an emotional blank, knowing that her viewers will fill it.

Born in 1975 in Turku, Finland, where she still lives, Iiu Susiraja (pronounced EE-you susi-rah-yah) started out as a textile designer. In 2007, she took up photography and, turning the camera on herself, began to make starkly direct, somewhat humorous, painfully vulnerable self-portraits. They are complex yet widely appealing, even magnetic. Easy resolution of their meanings is impossible, which creates a rich internal narrative in the viewer, often starting with one's feelings about one's own body.

This richness may account for the extensive writing on Susiraja's art, both inside and outside the art world, despite her relatively brief career. Her first solo gallery shows occurred in 2016 in Finland and the United States — the latter at Ramiken Crucible on the Lower East Side. (A show of new work and small sculptural objects is at Nino Mier Gallery in TriBeCa, through June 17.)

Susiraja's pictures and videos riff on pornography, fashion photography and art history, while bringing a new emotional rawness to postmodern photography. The precedents for her D.I.Y. setups include the French modernist Claude Cahun, and Americans like Hannah Wilke, Cindy Sherman, Jimmy DeSana, Laurie Simmons and James Casebere. In Susiraja's performative use of her own body she seems most closely related to Wilke, whose final works fearlessly chronicled her unsuccessful fight with cancer, and to DeSana, whose visualization of gay beauty and fantasy, delineate, like hers, a region of otherness.

CRITIC'S PICK
Iiu Susiraja: A Style Called a Dead Fish
Through Sept. 4 at MoMA PS1 in Queens; 718-784-2084, momaps1.org.

The show opens with several photographs from 2010, when Susiraja seems to have found her footing. Opposite the entrance, the declarative "Woman" confronts us directly. Seated, mostly black, she is a monumental, forceful presence.

Crucial to this power is the helmet-like headgear she devised from a white knit cap with herrings stuck in the band, which resemble ear flaps. More herrings peek out of the purple knit gloves she wears, further enhancing the ritualistic stillness of the image. Nothing settles down here: man, woman, athlete, warrior, monarch, deity — all fomented by the artist's size and her ingenious use of negligible materials.

A Valkyrie awaits in "Training" (also 2021), this time as a headdress embellished with braids (of bread) that turn Susiraja into a Wagnerian heroine. This is not to ignore the treadmill or the work's title, but to suggest that the cudgel of exercise will be met with resistance.

It may be that Susiraja's art divides into two halves: proud and heroic, and abject and heroic. As "Training" demonstrates, parts of both can often be found in the same artwork.

Nearby "Bad Legs," also from 2010, goes mostly abject, although with undeniable belligerence. Evoking an early 1970s William Wegman video, it takes aim at the widespread obsession with legs as a measure of attractiveness and value. Here only the artist's thick feet and calves are shown. Duct-taped to each leg is a clear plastic bag containing a dainty, slim-heeled pump, which doesn't seem likely to fit the artist — a painful recognition that is stated with brutal honesty.

On display: A dizzying array of body image issues, obsessions and taboos.

In "Gloves" (2019), Susiraja exaggerates the already extreme female ideal endemic to old masters painting. She appears in form-fitting underwear and strikes a Three Graces pose, touching a wood coat tree — like Eve proposing some apple tasting. A pair of yellow rubber gloves tucked into the bottom edge of her bra, and startling bruises that the artist has declined to explain, complete her outfit.

Susiraja displays a marked indifference to aesthetics, which may explain the "dead fish style" of the show's title. Most of her photographs have an ersatz blandness; they are often inspired by whatever she finds around her apartment or her parents' home where most of them are also taken. Their life stems from her mountainous body, and what she does to it.

But she juices up several images here by using brightly patterned fabrics as backdrops. For example, the expanses of exuberant plaid in "Sausage Cupid" (2019) are so overwhelming that you almost lose sight of the artist. She rises to the occasion, in a dark blue bathing suit, holding a blue umbrella festooned with strings of sausages, perhaps for Cupid to bestow on deserving couples.

Susiraja's videos extend her images into short resonant actions, usually around a minute in length, and provide a kind of comic relief.

In "Cow" she evokes an udder with a yellow rubber glove, a quart of milk and a shiny milk bucket. In "Stand," possibly the most humiliating piece in the show, Susiraja fits a wire hanger around her head and hangs it on a coat tree, which requires her to stoop awkwardly. And in "Mirror," she stands in the kitchen, laying curled pieces of bacon on the glass of a small hand mirror. Fastening the pieces together with some dozen yellow-headed hat pins, she creates a charming little thing: a temporary, miniature Post-Minimal sculpture that was probably soon eaten.

In her essay for the show's catalog, Jody Graf, assistant curator and organizer of the show, writes of Susiraja, "Her photographs may be funny, but they are never a joke."

It's slightly gnomic, this distinction, but it suggests that while Susiraja's works can be amusing, unexpected and shocking, they are never at anyone's expense. They show the artist making precise, even delicate use of the ephemera of the world in a way that ultimately comes off as quite earnest. Funny in Susiraja's case pulls us in, makes us sympathetic and possesses a depth whose bottom we will never reach.

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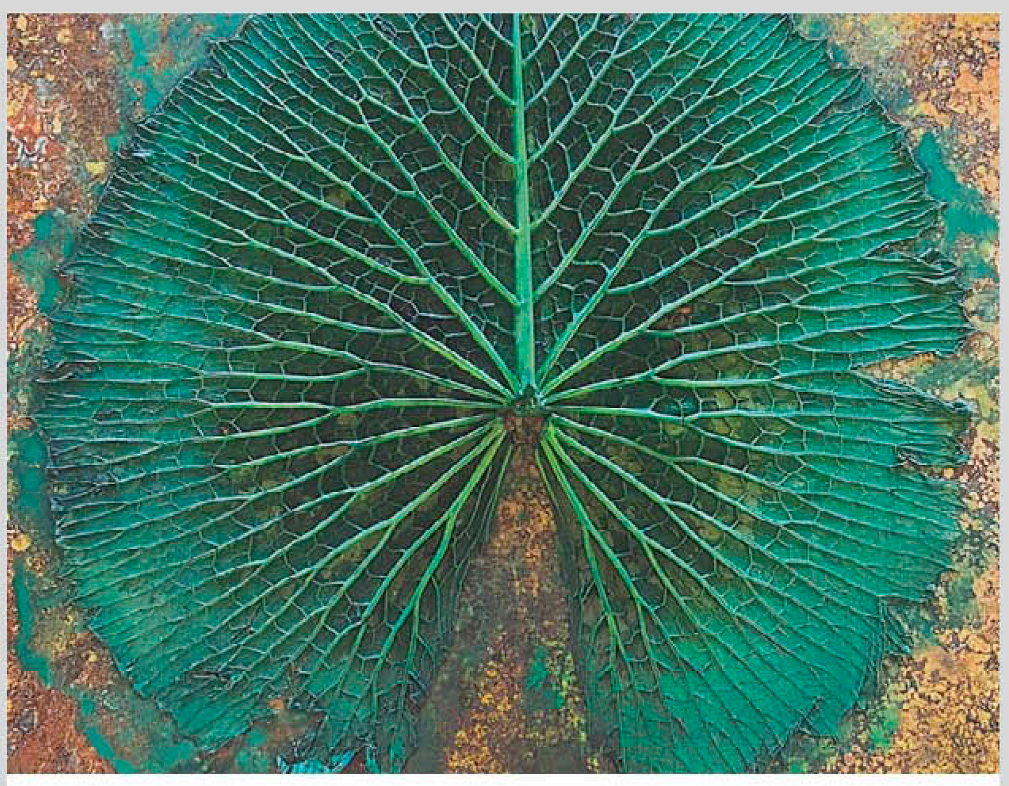

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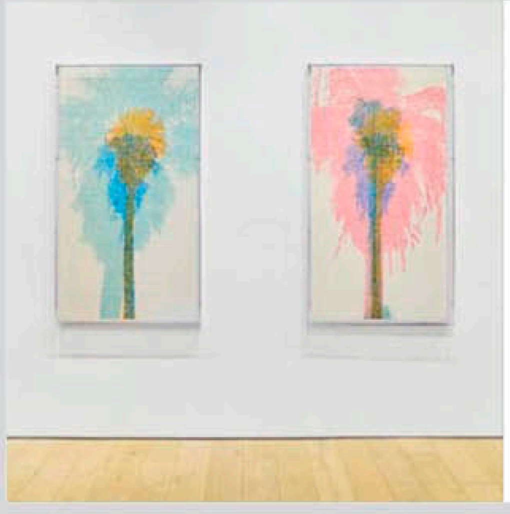

BERGGRUEN GALLERY

Serial Imagery:
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Image: Charles Gaines, *Numbers and Trees: Palm Canyon, Palm Series 4*, set of 4 (detail), 2021

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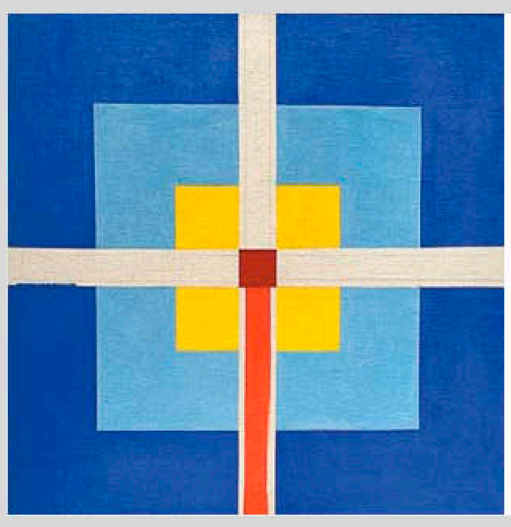

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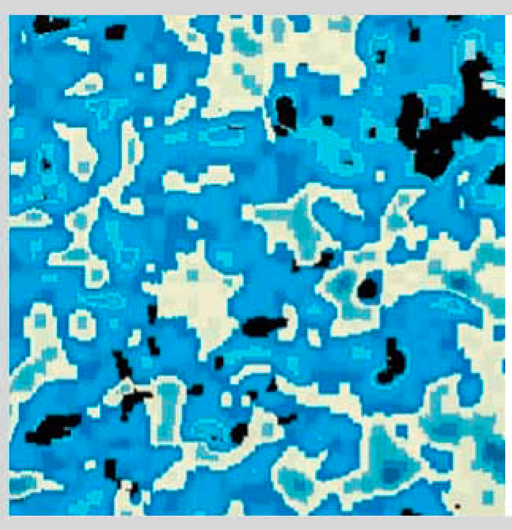

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Image: Jan Dibbets, 2020

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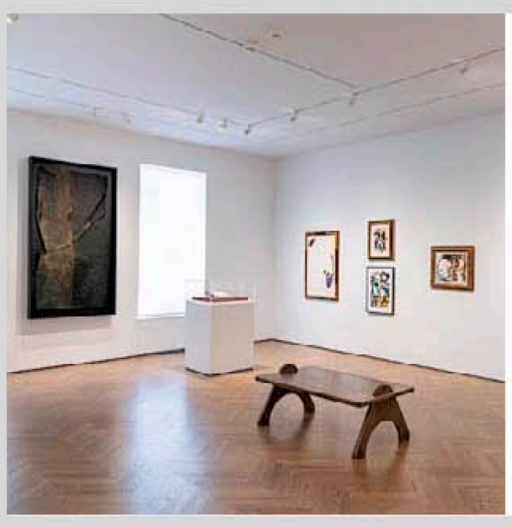

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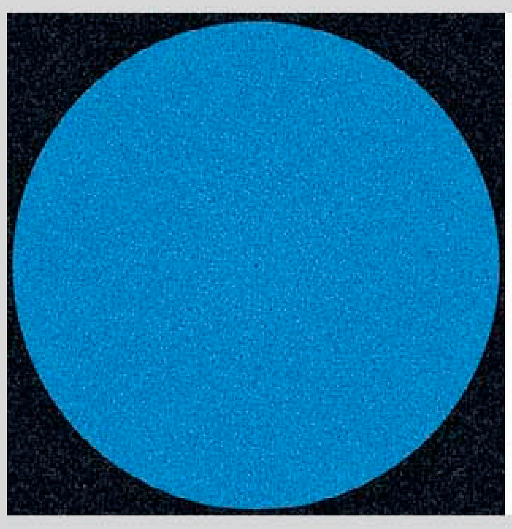

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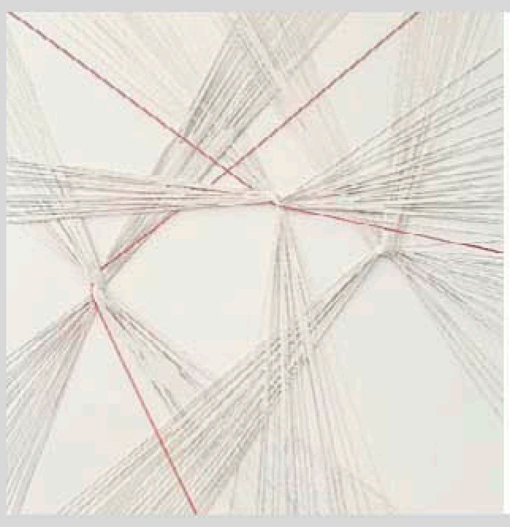

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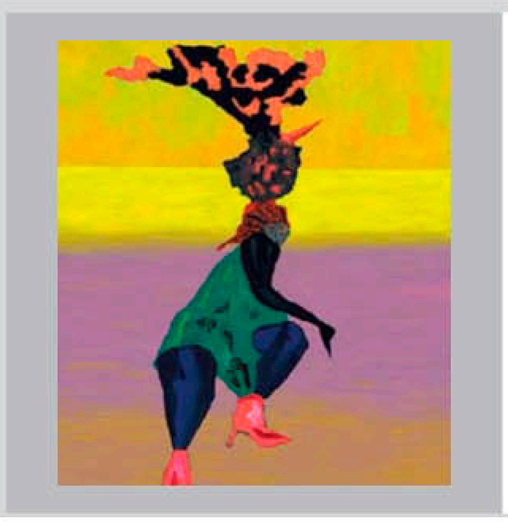

MICHAEL WERNER

Florian Krewer:
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On view through 17 June

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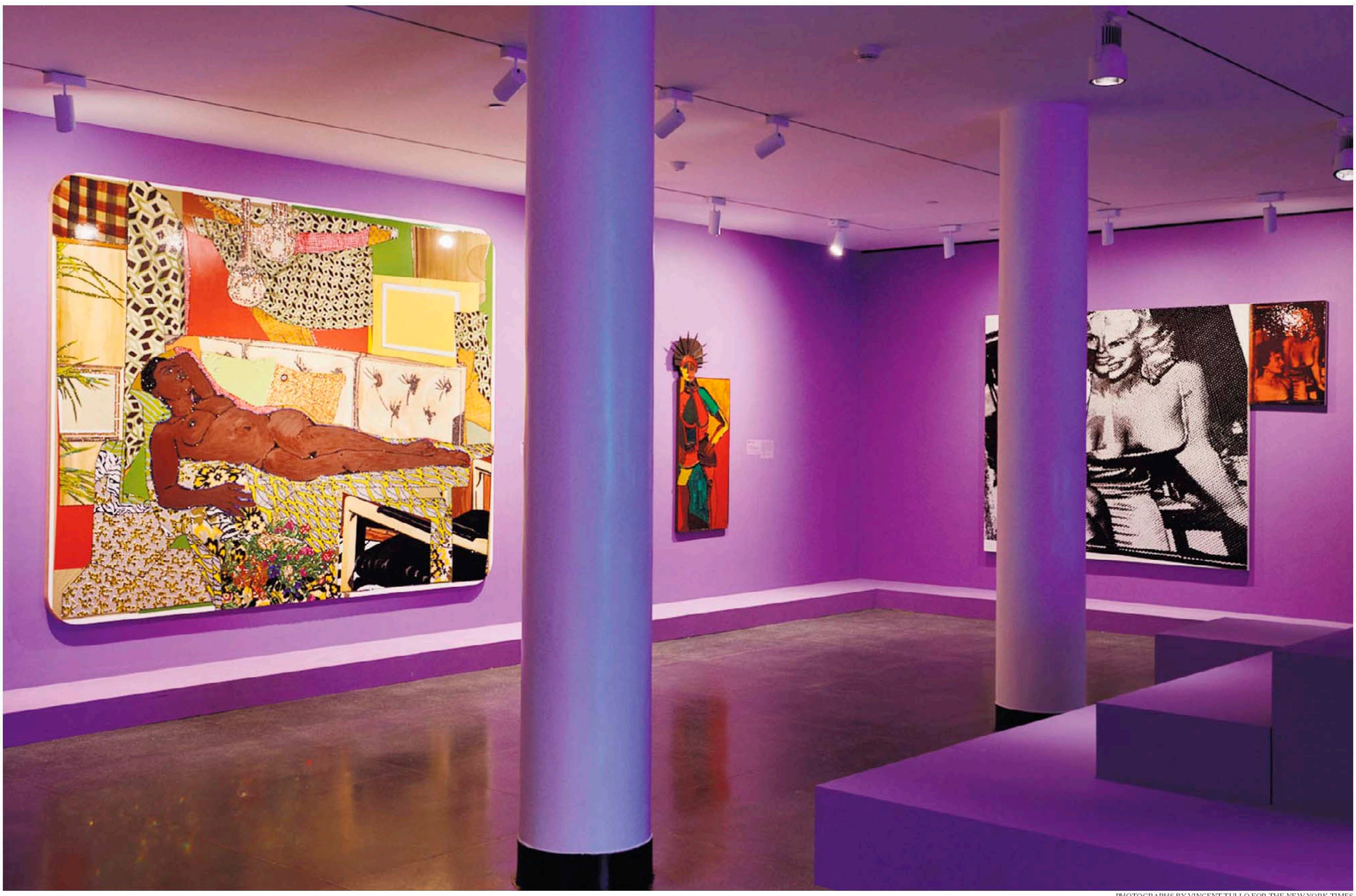
JASON FARAGO | ART REVIEW



PHOTOGRAPHS BY VINCENT TULLO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Funny? Well, That's Problematic.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

this entertainer has come through the museum doors, but if you thought Gadsby had something to say about Picasso, the joke — the only good joke of the day, in fact — is on you.

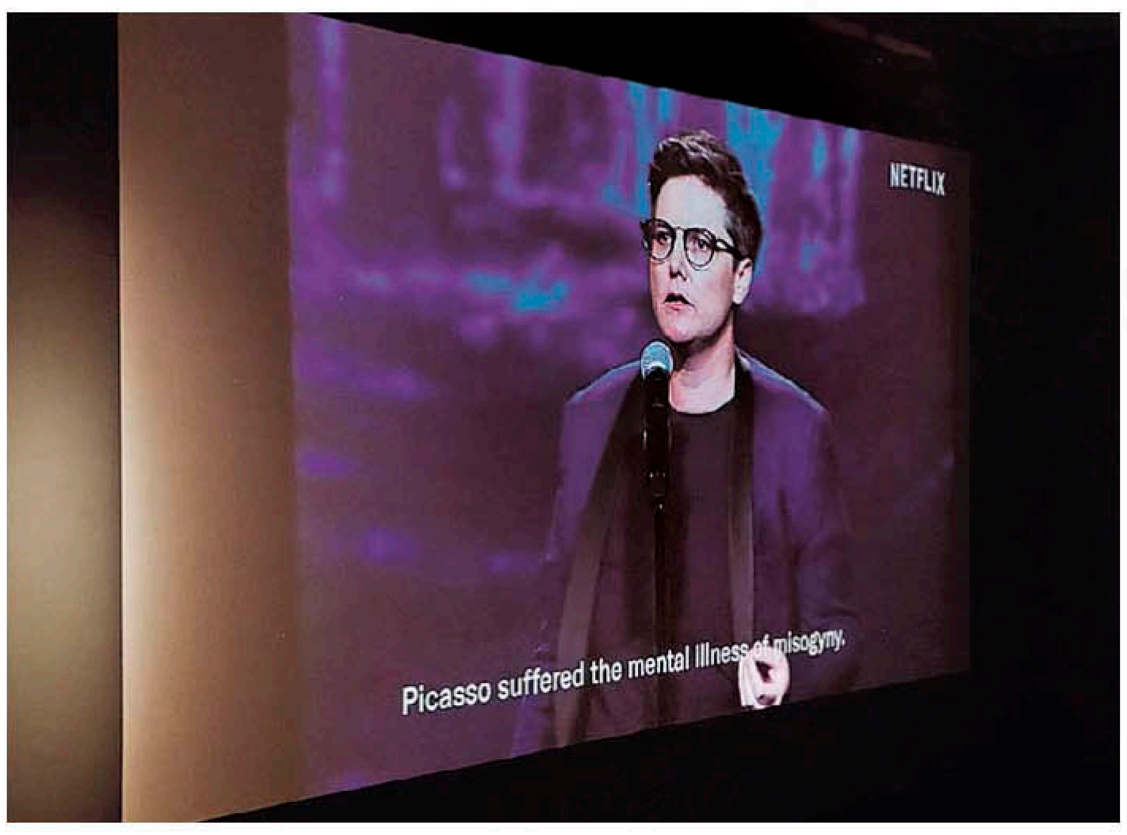
Like the noun-turned-adjective "problematic," this new exhibition backs away from close looking for the affirmative comforts of social-justice-themed pop culture. At the Brooklyn Museum you will find a few (very few) paintings by Picasso, plus two little sculptures and a selection of works on paper, suffixed with tame quips by Gadsby on adjacent labels. Around and nearby are works of art made by women, almost all made after Picasso's death in 1973; finally, in a vestibule, clips from "Nanette" play on a loop. That's the whole exhibition, and anyone who was expecting this to be a Netflix declension of the Degenerate Art Show, with poor patriarchal Picasso as ritualized scapegoat, can rest easy. There's little to see. There's no catalog to read. The ambitions here are at GIF level, though perhaps that is the point.

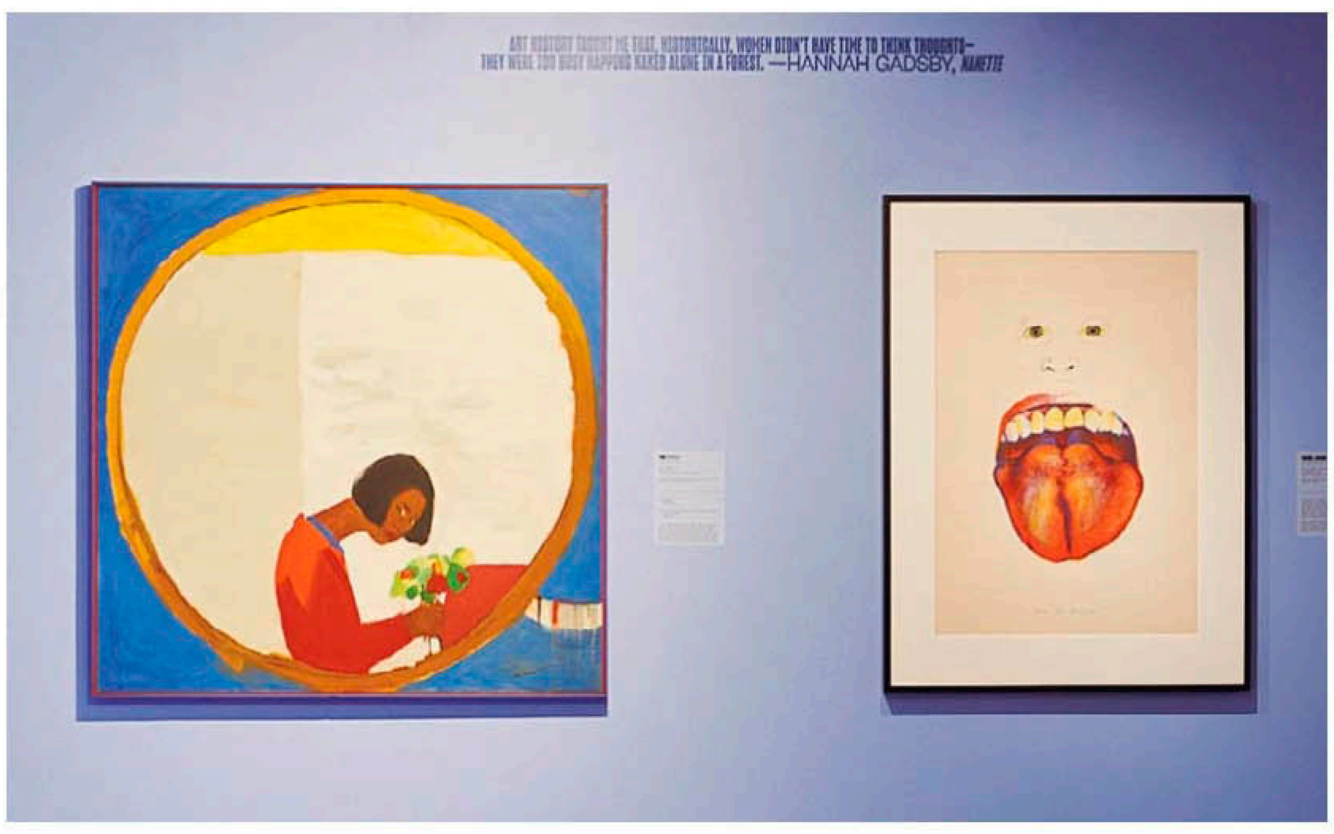
So far as it has an argument — a *problematic* — it goes like this: Pablo Picasso was an important artist. He was also something of a jerk around women. And women are more than "goddesses or doormats," as Picasso brutally had it; women, too, have stories to tell. I wish there was more to inform you of, but that's really about the size of it. All the feminist scholarship of the last 50 years — about repressed desire, about phallic instability, or even just about the lives of the women Picasso loved — is put to one side, in favor of what really matters: your feelings. "Admiration and anger can coexist," a text at the show's entrance reassures us.

That Picasso, probably the most written about painter in history, was both a great artist and a not-so-great guy is so far from being news as to qualify as climate. What matters is *what you do* with that friction, and "It's Pablo-matic" does not do much. For a start, it doesn't assemble many things to look at. The actual number of paintings by Picasso here is just eight. Seven were borrowed from the Musée Picasso in Paris, which has been supporting shows worldwide for this anniversary; one belongs to the Brooklyn Museum; none is first-rate. There are no other institutional loans besides a few prints brought over the river from MoMA. What you will see here by Picasso are mostly modest etchings, and even these barely display his stylistic breadth; more than two dozen sheets come from a single portfolio, the neoclassical Vollard Suite of the 1930s.

Unsigned texts in each gallery provide basic invocations of gender discrimination in art museums, or the colonial legacy of European modern art, while next to individual works Gadsby offers signed banter. These labels function a bit like bathroom graffiti, or maybe Instagram captions. Beside one classicizing print of Picasso and his lover Marie-Thérèse Walter: "I'm so virile my chest hair just exploded." Beside a reclining nude: "Is she actually reclining? Or has she just been dropped from a great height?"

There's a fixation, throughout, on genitals and bodily functions. Each sphincter, each phallus, is called out with adolescent excitement; with adolescent vocabulary, too. What jokes there are ("Meta? Hardly know her!") remain juvenile enough to leave Picasso unscathed. The adults involved at the Brooklyn Museum (principally its senior curators Lisa Small and Catherine Morris, Gadsby's collaborators here) really could have reined in this immaturity, though to their credit, they've at least fleshed out the show with some context on the cult of male genius or the rise of feminist art history in the 1970s.





The trouble is obvious, and entirely symptomatic of our back-to-front digital lives: For this show *the reactions came first*, the objects reacted to second. A show that started with pictures might make you come to wonder — following the pioneering feminist art historian Linda Nochlin — why Picasso's paintings of women are generally lacking in desire, quite unlike the pervy paintings of Balthus, Picabia and other cancelable midcentury gents. A show properly engaged with feminism and the avant-garde might have turned to Lyubov Popova, Natalia Goncharova, Nadezhda Udaltsova or Olga Rozanova: the remarkable Soviet women who put Picasso's breakdown of forms in the service of political revolution. A more serious look at reputation and male genius might have introduced a work by at least *one* female Cubist: perhaps Alice Bailly, or Marie Vassilieff, or Alice Halicka, or Marie Laurencin, or Jeanne Rij-Rousseau, or María Blanchard, or even Australia's own Anne Dangar.

Instead, "It's Pablo-matic" contents itself to stir in works by women from the Brooklyn Museum collection. These seem to have been selected more or less at random, and include a lithograph by Käthe Kollwitz, a photograph by Ana Mendieta, an assemblage by Betye Saar, and Dara Birnbaum's "Technology/Transformation: Wonder Woman," a video art classic of 1978/79 whose connection to Picasso is beyond me. (At least two paintings here, by Nina Chanel Abney and Mickalene Thomas, draw on the example of *Manet*, not Picasso.) The artists who made them have been reduced here, in what may be this show's only true insult, into mere raconteurs of women's lives. "I want my story to be heard," reads a quotation from Gadsby in the last gallery; the same label lauds the "entirely new stories" of a new generation.

Top, from left, "Marie: Nude Black woman lying on a couch (Marie: Femme noire nue couchée)" by Mickalene Thomas, "Revolutionary Sister" by Dindga McCannon and "Big Girls" by Marilyn Minter; above, clips from Hannah Gadsby's "Nanette"; above right, "Flower Sniffer" by Emma Amos (left) and "Saca la Lengua" by Marisol Escobar; below, sketches from Picasso.

It's Pablo-matic: Picasso According to Hannah Gadsby
Through Sept. 24 at the Brooklyn Museum; 718-638-5000, brooklynmuseum.org.

This elevation of "stories" over art (or at least comedy) was the principal thrust of "Nanette," a Sydney stand-up routine which became an American viral success during the last presidency, shortly after the wrongdoings of Harvey Weinstein were finally exposed. "Nanette" proposed a therapeutic purpose for culture, rejecting the "trauma" of telling jokes in favor of the three-act resolution of "stories." It directly analogized Picasso to President Donald J. Trump: "The greatest artist of the twentieth century. Let's make art great again, guys." It even averred that Picasso, and by extension all the old masters, suffered from "the mental illness of misogyny." (Given this pathologization of Picasso, it is *very* intriguing that Gadsby has described the Brooklyn Museum show as their own deeply desired act of sexual violence against the man from Málaga, telling Variety: "I really, really want to stick one up him.")

Most bizarrely, the routine rested on a condemnation of art as an elite swindle, and modernism got it particularly hard. "CUUU-bism," went Gadsby's mocking refrain, to reliable audience laughter. (As it is, Picasso's own Cubist art appears at the Brooklyn Museum through a single 6-by-4.5-inch engraving.) The sarcasm, from a comedian with moderate art historical bona fides, had a purpose: It gave Gadsby's audience permission to believe that avant-garde painting was actually a big scam. "They're all cut from the same cloth," Gadsby told the audience in "Nanette": "Donald Trump, Pablo Picasso, Harvey Weinstein" — and the art you never liked in the first place could be dismissed as the flimflam of a cabal of evil men.

Not long ago, it would have been embarrassing for adults to admit that they found avant-garde painting too difficult and preferred the comforts of story time. What Gadsby did was give the audience permission — *moral* permission — to turn their backs on what challenged them, and to ennoble a preference for comfort and kitsch.

So who should be most brassed off by this show? Not Picasso, who gets out totally unharmed. But the female artists in the museum's collection dragooned into this minor prank, and the generations of women and feminist art historians — Rosalind Krauss, Anne Wagner, Mary Ann Caws, hundreds more — who have devoted their careers to thinking seriously about modern art and gender. Especially at the Brooklyn Museum, whose engagement with feminist art is unique in New York, I left sad and embarrassed that this show doesn't even try to do what it promises: put female artists on equal footing with the big guy.

"My story has value," Gadsby said in "Nanette"; and then, "I will not allow my story to be destroyed"; and then, "Stories hold our cure." But Howardena Pindell, on view here, is much more than a storyteller; Cindy Sherman, on view here, is much more than a storyteller. They are artists who, like Picasso before them, put ideas and images into productive tension, with no reassurance of closure or comfort. The function of a public museum (or at least it should be) is to present to all of us these women's full aesthetic achievements; there is also room for story hour in the children's wing.

Sotheby's Buys the Whitney's Breuer Building

The auction house will make the notable Brutalist structure its New York flagship in 2025.

By ROBIN POGREBIN

Confirming rumors that had the art world abuzz this spring, Sotheby's said on Thursday that it had purchased the Whitney Museum of American Art's 1966 Brutalist building by Marcel Breuer on Madison Avenue and will move its Manhattan headquarters there from York Avenue in 2025.

The price of the Breuer building was not disclosed, but two people involved in the deal, who asked not to be identified because they were not authorized to publicly discuss it, put the figure at about $100 million.

"It's bittersweet," Adam D. Weinberg, the Whitney's director, said about parting with the building permanently. "I know every square inch of it and think it's one of the great art monuments out there. It's a masterpiece of modern architecture."

Charles F. Stewart, Sotheby's chief executive, called the Breuer building "a once in a lifetime opportunity that we couldn't pass up," adding that "the location couldn't be more ideal for our client base" to view art, attend sales and meet with specialists.

"The chance to buy an iconic museum in any major city — this doesn't happen," Stewart continued. Although the auction house will hire an architect to reimagine the Breuer's interior and create a salesroom within the five-story structure — it is in a landmark district but does not itself have landmark designation — Stewart said Sotheby's was "committed to preserving the integrity of what's loved about the building," including the lobby.

Weinberg, who plans to step down next fall after 20 years, said the Breuer building no longer made sense for the Whitney to retain because the museum has doubled its exhibition space in its new Renzo Piano-designed headquarters, which also has a more accessible and welcoming presence.

"It was built for a time of large easel paintings," Weinberg said of the Breuer building. "For us it became clear it did not really make sense to have a divided Whitney — how do you divide it?" he added. "Also, we don't want to be landlords."

The location of the Breuer building brings Sotheby's closer to the heart of the Upper East Side art world, an area that includes large galleries like Gagosian, Mnuchin and Acquavella, and where smaller galleries are proliferating. The Madison Avenue site will also allow for more foot traffic to Sotheby's exhibitions, namely its pre-auction previews, which give the public the opportunity to view prized artworks before they disappear into private hands.

The move represents a return to Sotheby's roots: The auction house once occupied the Parke-Bernet Galleries across Madison Avenue, where Gagosian is now.

The deal — which Sotheby's and the Whitney refused to confirm in response to queries from The New York Times in April — finally resolves the fate of the Breuer building, which has hung in the balance since the Whitney moved to the meatpacking district in 2015. Would the Whitney ultimately take back the building and operate uptown as well as downtown? Would the Breuer building end up as a private residence or a fancy retail store?

Many questioned whether the Whitney would make a successful new start in the meatpacking district, a scrappier part of Manhattan, having become so closely linked with the Breuer. What was the Whitney without Breuer? What was Breuer without the Whitney?

Leonard A. Lauder, the Whitney's powerful chairman emeritus, initially opposed its move downtown as risky, and insisted that the museum commit to not selling the Breuer for 20 years. But Lauder ultimately became a convert to the new site, and it was named the Leonard A. Lauder Building.

CHRISTINA HORSTEN/PICTURE ALLIANCE, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The Whitney Museum has sold the building, designed by the Bauhaus architect Marcel Breuer, to Sotheby's auction house. After moving to the meatpacking district in 2015, the Whitney leased the Brutalist building to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Frick Collection.

"When the discussion started, it was before the completion of the High Line, before Hudson Yards started and before a lot of the major building boom," Lauder told The Times in 2016. "I was afraid, in truth, that the Whitney would be a lonely institution down in a neighborhood that was waiting to happen. Well, it's happening."

The Whitney in its new location has become integral to that neighborhood's rejuvenation, helping spur continued residential and commercial development around the High Line and Hudson Yards.

After the Whitney's departure, the Metropolitan Museum of Art leased the building for six years, presenting contemporary art in the Met Breuer. The Met spent about $15 million to upgrade the building, and it cost the museum about $17 million a year to run the Breuer. In 2021, the Met handed over the space to the Frick Collection, whose 1914 Gilded Age mansion on Fifth Avenue is undergoing renovation.

Under Sotheby's, the Breuer building, at East 75th Street, will include gallery and exhibition space as well as an auction salesroom. Still to be determined is whether Sotheby's will keep the restaurant.

Sotheby's will take over the Breuer building in September 2024, when the Frick leaves. It plans to move in the next year.

The building was designed by Breuer, a Hungarian-born, Bauhaus-trained architect. Although many disliked its brooding, stolid architecture, the Breuer came to be considered the ideal space in which to show 20th- and 21st-century art and sculpture. "It married form and function, beautifully," Michael Kimmelman wrote in The Times in 2015. "The exhibition floors weren't just practical and flexible. They were also particular, refined and muscular, with their gridded concrete ceilings. Outside and in, the mix of gray granite, concrete and slate conveyed extreme finesse."

Founded in 1930, the Whitney opened in 1931 on West Eighth Street near Fifth Avenue. In 1954, the museum moved to an expanded site at 22 West 54th Street until settling into the Breuer in 1966. Before moving downtown, the Whitney considered several redesigns at its Breuer location, including expansions by Michael Graves, Rem Koolhaas and Renzo Piano.

In 2024, Sotheby's is to open new flagship galleries in Hong Kong and Paris. This year, Sotheby's will open Gantry Point in Long Island City, Queens, a 240,000-square-foot facility for art handling and storage.

Sotheby's will continue to own the headquarters it has occupied since 1980 at 1334 York Avenue — expanding it in 2019 — and where the company will operate until it moves to the Breuer building.

"I was very appreciative that they believed we will be great stewards of this building," Stewart said of the Whitney. "Open to the public, presenting art — the use of the building will be consistent with the reason it was built. There is a continuum."

GALLERIES

VIA MATHEW MARKS GALLERY

Joan Brown's "The Visitor" (1977) is in the show "Facts & Fantasies," at Matthew Marks.

Joan Brown

Through June 17. Matthew Marks Gallery, 522 West 22nd Street, Manhattan; 212-243-0200, matthewmarks.com.

You could call the mature style of the great American painter Joan Brown (1938-1990) extra-late Egyptian, with her figures often rendered fully frontal or fully in profile. This formality — along with expanses of startling solid colors — contributes to the hypnotic stillness of her mainly autobiographical works. (Besides painting, her interests included her family, Hinduism, ballroom dancing, serious amateur swimming and Egyptian art.) It's not always clear what Brown, who appears in six of the paintings here, is thinking about, but the seriousness is undeniable.

So it's not surprising that this show of a dozen paintings, mostly from the 1970s, includes "The Visitor" (1977). It depicts the artist seated with an Egyptian pharaoh at a restaurant. The pharaoh is deep turquoise — the color of Egyptian faience — as is the wall behind him, which is incised with hieroglyphs. If two worlds are colliding, it seems to be occurring in Brown's imagination. After all, the show is titled "Facts & Fantasies."

In "Self-Portrait at Age 42" (1980) we encounter the artist with arms folded, staring ahead. She wears a blue pullover delicately smeared with paint and a clear plastic glove. Is she facing an unwelcome interruption in her studio? Then it dawns: Her hard stare seems like the kind artists reserve for paintings in progress. There are several other alluring works, but don't miss "Donald" ture of an extra-large tabby cat. As with the Egyptians, cats were one of Brown's favorite subjects.

ROBERTA SMITH

Rina Banerjee

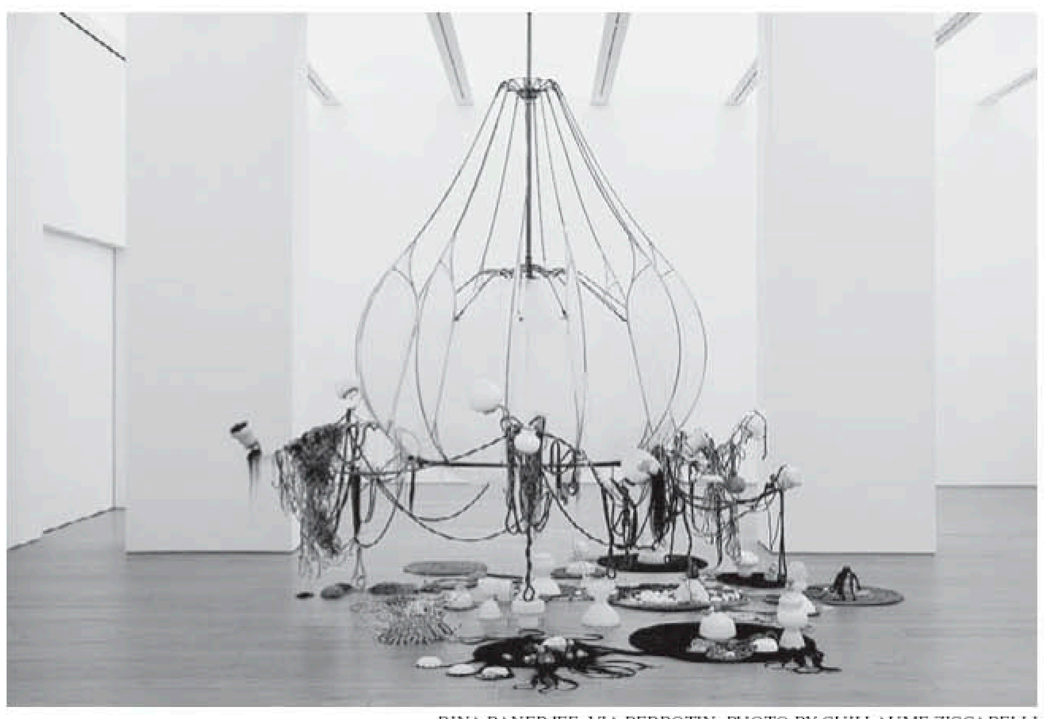
Through June 10. Perrotin, 130 Orchard Street, Manhattan; 212-812-2902, perrotin.com.

Rina Banerjee's show at Perrotin is well timed: Her style of world-building with everyday materials is having a moment. Current museum exhibitions devoted to Wangechi Mutu, Daniel Lind-Ramos and Sarah Sze create a fruitful context for Banerjee, who's had a decades-long, successful career but no solo show here in eight years.

Like those other artists, Banerjee makes evocative creatures and grand yet intricate installations from unusual materials. But her work feels both more omnivorous and more precarious. Her arrangements — of, say, small wooden and porcelain figurines atop a tangle of netting and string, giving way to clusters of horns and glass — are as compelling as they are improbable. They coalesce at the same time that they don't. Banerjee, who was born in Calcutta and raised mostly in New York, seems interested not just in the imaginative possibilities of hybridity, but also how easily things might shift or come apart.

The show's centerpiece, "Black Noodles" (2023), commands the gallery, looking like an underwater ruin, and Banerjee's loose paintings of mythical female figures are transporting. But I kept returning to "Contagious Migrations" (1999-2023), a work that features a two-headed creature of sorts, set against a dizzying sketch of plans for a ventilation system. The plan's edges are cut into tentacle-like shapes, from which extend medical tubes, some covered in black netting. The piece evokes Covid-19 but is too abstract to be commentary. Instead it's beautiful, ominous and mysterious. It captures what's so mesmerizing about Banerjee's art, and what's so unsettling.

JILLIAN STEINHAUER


RINA BANERJEE; VIA PERROTIN; PHOTO BY GUILLAUME ZICCARELLI

Rina Banerjee's "Black Noodles" (2023), looking like an underwater ruin, is

Giorgio de Chirico

Through July 29. Vito Schnabel Gallery, 455 West 19th Street, Manhattan; 646-216-3932; vitoschnabel.com.

Almost any of the 16 Giorgio de Chirico paintings in "Horses: The Death of a Rider" could sustain an exhibition by itself. A couple from the late 1920s are less polished, and you could reasonably call "Two Horses on a Seashore," 1970, a little glib. But for the most part the lush, peculiar and consistently delightful paintings show the Greek-born Italian painter at the top of his game for the better part of five decades.

As the exhibition title suggests, every canvas also holds one or more horses, often backed by one of the mysterious landscapes he's known for. Carnal but loaded with symbolism, the horse is a living link to antiquity, making it the perfect subject for a history-conscious artist like de Chirico (1888-1978). It's also full of bulging joints and fleshy mounds, and de Chirico approaches it, visually as well as conceptually, as a kind of chimera, a grab-bag of separate moments and encounters.

The majestic white steed in the title piece, "Death of a Rider," rears up on a twilit beach, letting its rider tumble off like Icarus behind it. In the distance stands a city on a hill; nearby, two voyagers or gods watch from a rowboat. But the horse's posture is actually that of a statue, its foreleg bent, its head in a dramatic profile that doesn't quite match the angle of its body. To one side it's a crouching, unconscious power; to the other a self-possessed, even arrogant personality. Altogether it encapsulates the drama of the scene, at once active and eternal.

WILL HEINRICH

GIORGIO DE CHIRICO/ARTISTS RIGHTS SOCIETY (ARS), NEW YORK/SIAE, ROME; VIA VITO SCHNABEL GALLERY

Giorgio de Chirico's "Death of a Rider" (1937-38), an oil on canvas.

VIA PRINTED MATTER

Installation view of "From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite." On view are photographs of some of the gallery storefronts, artists and performances that appeared in Art-Rite, as well as original production materials.

'From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite'

Through June 21. Printed Matter; 231 11th Avenue, Manhattan; 212-925-0325, printedmatter.org.

The title "From the Margins: The Making of Art-Rite" at Printed Matter" feels a little inaccurate from today's global-art standpoint. Founded in 1973 by Edit DeAk, Walter Robinson and Joshua Cohn, Art-Rite magazine published 19 issues and featured some of the biggest talents of the '70s, most of whom have gone on to become household names in the art world. This meticulous show tells its story via documentary photographs, letters, original paste-up materials and anecdotes

The young editors met in an art criticism seminar at Columbia University taught by the brilliant editor and artist Brian O'Doherty. The magazine (its name consciously echoes ShopRite grocery stores and the advertising circulars handed out there) was printed on newsprint and avoided "terminological pollution," that is, theory-jargon and artspeak. The first issue included contributions by the Pop Art scholar Lawrence Alloway, Hilton Kramer (at one point a critic for The New York Times), the feminist critic Lucy Lippard and the art historians Irving Sandler and Leo Steinberg — a jaw-dropping roster for an alternative "throwaway" publication.

Art-Rite arrived in an era when a "crisis in criticism," sparked partly by a burgeoning art market, was constantly being sounded. Critics suddenly had less power than curators, collectors and artists, and venues for criticism were shrinking. Now, as glossy art magazines are being consolidated as "brands" and criticism further homogenized, the need for a smart, scrappy publication like Art-Rite — and one that looks this good 50 years after its founding — is more urgent than ever.

MARTHA SCHWENDENER

WASHINGTON SQUARE OUTDOOR ART EXHIBIT
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Books

Volumes for an Endless Literary Summer

The Catholic Church and slavery, parsing identities, and Lorrie Moore returns.

By JOUMANA KHATIB

June might be the month to read something by an old favorite: If so, watch for Lorrie Moore's new novel, ending a yearslong wait. Or maybe you want something completely unfamiliar: Try a novel narrated by a queer mountain lion roaming Los Angeles. Rachel L. Swarns explores how slavery and the Roman Catholic Church are linked in American history, and Elliot Page discusses his gender transition in a memoir. Here are nine books coming this month.

THE 272: THE FAMILIES WHO WERE ENSLAVED AND SOLD TO BUILD THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC CHURCH
Rachel L. Swarns (Random House, June 13)

In 1838, a group of powerful Jesuit priests sold 272 enslaved people to help secure the financial future of a pre-eminent Catholic school: the university now known as Georgetown. Swarns, a journalism professor and a contributing writer for The Times, builds on earlier reporting to show how the history of the Catholic Church in the United States is inextricably linked to slavery, and traces one family for nearly 200 years, starting with Ann Joice, a Black woman who arrived in Maryland in the 1600s as an indentured servant.

ALL THE SINNERS BLEED
S.A. Cosby (Flatiron, Tuesday)

Cosby follows his earlier thrillers "Razorblade Tears" and "Blacktop Wasteland" with a rural, hair-raising crime story. Titus Crown, a former F.B.I. agent, has returned to his Virginia hometown and become the rare Black sheriff in the area. A beloved white high school teacher is killed, bringing to light a much darker crime: The teacher was part of a group that tortured and killed Black children, and one of his conspirators is still at large. As Crown investigates, each twist is a reminder that, in Cosby's telling, "no place was more confused by its past or more terrified of the future than the South."

Want an offbeat novel? 'Open Throat' is narrated by a queer mountain lion who lives near the Hollywood sign in Los Angeles.

THE DEVIL'S PLAYGROUND
Craig Russell (Doubleday, June 20)

A Hollywood thriller centers on a legendary horror film from the 1920s that is rumored to have cursed everyone involved: Its star died before filming ended, the crew was hurt in a grave accident and nearly all copies of it were subsequently destroyed. But 40 years later, a film historian learns that a last recording might still exist, and chases down more of its unsettling back story.

HOLDING PATTERN
Jenny Xie (Riverhead, June 20)

Written by a former executive editor at Dwell magazine (who is unrelated to the acclaimed poet Jenny Xie), this debut novel follows Kathleen, who abruptly leaves her graduate program and moves back to California to live with her Chinese mother. A job at a company promoting touch therapy helps Kathleen rethink her ideas about intimacy more generally — and spurs her to build a new relationship with her mother.

I AM HOMELESS IF THIS IS NOT MY HOME
Lorrie Moore (Knopf, June 20)

It's been over a decade since Moore published a novel, but her new book shows she hasn't lost her absurdist touch or her ability to balance all manner of disparate elements: in this case, a so-called therapy clown, a spectral road trip and purloined 19th-century letters, among other things. The novel centers on a suspended high school history teacher visiting his dying brother, and explores various kinds of love and duty.

THE MYTHMAKERS
Keziah Weir (Simon & Schuster/ Marysue Rucci Books, June 13)

In this debut novel, a young journalist named Sal stumbles upon a depiction of herself in a story by a much older male writer — and wades into thorny questions of appropriation, authorship and the role of the muse. The writer, Martin Keller, has died by the time Sal encounters the story, and soon she's weaseling her way into the lives of Keller's widow and daughter to better understand the role she played.

OPEN THROAT
Henry Hoke (MCD, Tuesday)

"I've never eaten a person but today I might." So begins Hoke's new novel, narrated by a queer mountain lion who lives near the Hollywood sign in Los Angeles, guarding a homeless encampment. Readers learn about the cat's life — a romance that bloomed while preying on a deer, a violent and traumatic paternal relationship — in fragmented, inventive prose.

PAGEBOY: A MEMOIR
Elliot Page (Flatiron, Tuesday)

Page rose to prominence for roles in "Juno" and "Inception," and came out as trans in 2020. His new memoir details the long path to transitioning genders (even from the time he was a child he asked his mother if he could be a boy, he writes). In his story, he offers moving descriptions of what it's like to experience gender dysphoria, and details the happiness and self-acceptance he now feels.

TO NAME THE BIGGER LIE: A MEMOIR IN TWO STORIES
Sarah Viren (Scribner, June 13)

Viren published an article in The Times Magazine that detailed a rival's false sexual harassment case against her wife, a harrowing attempt to derail her academic career. That episode figures in Viren's new autobiography, but it's just one component: At the heart of this book are her attempts to reconcile her current identity with all of her previous selves, and to investigate whether the full truth is ever within reach.

A Romance Novel With No Politics

'The Italian Lesson,' a collaboration that includes the writers E. Jean Carroll and Mary Trump, will have no mention of a certain former president.

By ALEXANDRA ALTER

This year, Mary Trump, a niece and prominent critic of Donald J. Trump, had a bad bout of writer's block. She was juggling several nonfiction projects and felt stuck, so she decided to write something completely different.

The result will surprise readers who know Trump from her blockbuster memoir, "Too Much and Never Enough," which told the inside story of Donald Trump's family history. It has nothing to do with the former president, politics or clinical psychology, her professional field. Her latest book, "The Italian Lesson," is a romance novel about an American woman with a secret past who tries to reinvent herself in Tuscany, where she opens a cafe and meets a handsome local vineyard owner.

"It's completely unlikely and weird and counterintuitive," Trump said of the project.

The novel, which will be released on Substack during the next year, with the first installment arriving on Friday, came out of an unusual collaboration between Trump and two of her close friends: E. Jean Carroll, the advice columnist who won a sexual abuse and defamation case against Donald Trump, and Jennifer Taub, the author and law professor.

The three became close during the pandemic, when they all joined a Zoom knitting circle. Later, they decided it would be fun to collaborate on a screenplay for a Hallmark-type romance movie as a way to stay in regular touch.

"We really didn't want to lose each other," said Taub, who was knitting during a joint Zoom interview.

The screenplay never got off the ground, but Trump had the idea to write the story as a serialized romance novel instead. Since they all have newsletters with Substack, it seemed like a natural choice for a platform.

VIA MARY TRUMP

From left: E. Jean Carroll, Mary L. Trump and Jennifer Taub, who are working on a serialized romance novel together. The idea arose after they became close friends during the pandemic.

Trump, who started out writing fiction before she published her nonfiction best seller, volunteered to write it, but felt she was out of her depth on the romance elements. "I've never read a romance novel in my life," she said.

Carroll, who has frequently dispensed romantic advice through her column, "Ask E. Jean," helped Trump with tips for writing bedroom scenes and realistic romantic scenarios. (For one thing, Trump had failed to adequately describe the outfit that her heroine, Anastasia, wears on her first date with her love interest, Matteo, a rookie oversight that Carroll and Taub helped her address.)

For the most part, the collaboration has been seamless, though they've occasionally clashed over just how spicy the plot should be. During the Zoom interview, Trump and Carroll disagreed about whether the novel could accurately be described as "erotic."

"This is not soft-core pornography," Trump said.

"Let's wait," Carroll countered.

"I don't have it in me," Trump demurred.

"Mary, you do," Carroll insisted.

Carroll then tried to settle the question: "I think we are going to have some very delicious scenes, as only Mary can describe them, so they're going to be a little weird, but trust me, there are going to be some erotic scenes."

One thing they all agree on: There will be no discussion of the former president, or of politics in any form, on their Substack.

"This is a no-politics zone," Carroll said. "We're giving you an escape."

Of course, they realize that many people have come to associate them with political and social commentary — not erotic thrills — and that some readers may be disappointed by their new mission. Both Carroll and Trump gained prominence for taking on the former president in their memoirs, becoming heroes to many on the left and magnets for attacks and criticism from the right.

In her 2019 memoir, "What Do We Need Men For?," Carroll accused Trump of raping her in a Manhattan department store dressing room in the mid-1990s. She later sued him, and a jury in her civil case recently found him liable for sexual abuse and defamation, and ordered him to pay Carroll $2 million for the sexual abuse and $3 million for the defamation. She is seeking new damages in response to comments he made on CNN after the verdict.

Mary Trump became a cable news fixture and practically a household name in the summer of 2020, when she released a blistering tell-all about her uncle with Simon & Schuster. The book sold more than 1.3 million copies in the first week after its release.

Trump said she had brushed aside concerns from a few people in her professional orbit, who worried that a romance novel might dilute her reputation as a sharp political commentator.

"Some people said we're tarnishing the brand — what brand?" she said. "I don't really care what anyone thinks, or if people go, 'Oh, it's a romance novel and you're not a serious person.'"

Trump has written about a third of the novel and has the plot fully mapped out, she said. She hopes to find a traditional publisher for the novel when it's finished. For now, subscribers to the Substack will get twice-weekly installments, along with knitting patterns and recipes for Italian dishes that the characters eat. (The Substack, called Backstory Serial, will be free for the first three weeks, then available to paid subscribers for $60 a year or $6 a month.)

Subscribers can also leave comments about the story, and Carroll will respond to readers. But trolls will not be tolerated.

"If you want to insult me, if you want to be mean to me, that's what Twitter is for," Trump said.

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A Sole Survivor Carries On With Positivity

The singer from the Zamrock band Witch put together a new group, which is set to release an LP.

By JIM FARBER

During a feverish performance last fall at Music Hall of Williamsburg in Brooklyn, Emmanuel Chanda (who uses the stage name Jagari) paused to preach what he called "the philosophy of positivity."

"When a woman doesn't love you or when someone does you wrong, it's all right," the frontman of the Zambian rock band Witch said, flashing a wide smile. "It's always all right."

For Chanda, "It's Alright" — the title of a Witch song from 1974 — isn't a cheap bromide or a rank cliché. It's an enduring ballast in a life that has encountered an uncommon number of tragedies and hardships, as well as dreams long deferred.

In his 71 years, Chanda has seen his landlocked African country experience waves of political turmoil and economic meltdowns as well as the scourge of AIDS in the '80s and '90s, which took the lives of every other original member of Witch. At the same time, he has enjoyed a vaunted reputation at home and with cult audiences abroad as a pioneer of the Zamrock movement that exploded in the 1970s when his country, flush from the spoils of its chief economic source — copper mines — provided young musicians access to European and American music, and created a unique sound.

At its root, Zamrock melded fuzz-toned psychedelia, chugging garage rock and roiling funk with a broad mix of African cadences and beats. In its heyday, Witch drew thousands of local fans to its shows, enlivening a scene that included bands like Musi O Tunya (led by the Zamrock mainstay Rikki Ililonga), the Ngozi Family, and Amanaz.

Between 1972 and '77, Chanda recorded five albums with Witch (its name stands for We Intend to Cause Havoc) that initially had no impact outside the Zambia region. That began to change in 2010, when reissues and compilations appeared in Europe and the United States. Fans responded passionately enough to support tours by a fresh band that Chanda assembled six years ago featuring mainly young, European musicians. (The keyboardist Patrick Mwondela played in an incarnation of Witch after Chanda departed in 1979, and is the only other Zambian in the current group.)

A recent documentary about the band, titled "We Intend to Cause Havoc," generated more attention, which has helped Chanda finally fulfill one of his greatest dreams: to record new Witch music. This week the band is releasing "Zango," the first album to appear under its name since 1984 and the first in more than four decades to feature its frontman.

"To me, this is a resurrection," Chanda said in an interview at a Williamsburg coffee shop the day after the concert. "It's like I went into oblivion, and then was pushed out to continue what I was created to do."

MAGDALENA WOSINSKA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PANTHEON PICTURES

Above, the new lineup of Witch, clockwise from top left: Patrick Mwondela, Nico Mauskoviç, Jacco Gardner and Charlie Garmendia. Bottom, from left: Stefan Lilov, Jagari Chanda and JJ Whitefield. Left, Chanda in "We Intend to Cause Havoc."

In the years since Witch first made an impact, younger musicians have been paying attention. Sampa the Great, a 29-year-old Zambian rapper with international reach, said she connected "to the defiance and the edginess" of Witch's music. "To have traditional music and infuse it with rock, that's what I do with hip-hop," she added. She collaborated with Witch on a track from her 2022 album "As Above, So Below" and appears on one of the band's new songs.

Ahmed Gallab, a Sudanese American musician whose group, Sinkane, plays a progressive brand of funk, said that Chanda's role in Witch "showed me how to be an African rock star to the max."

In some ways, Witch's new music picks up right where the original band left off. Desert Daze Sound, which signed the group in partnership with Partisan Records, insisted that the band record at DB studios in Lusaka, Zambia, where the act cut its most vaunted set, "Lazy Bones," in 1975.

"We have the original gear from those records and the same sound engineer," said Jacco Gardner, the band's current bassist, who hails from the Netherlands. But, according to Stefan Lilov, the band's Switzerland-based guitarist, "some of the equipment was in terrible shape. We had to have a guy solder the guitar pedals together as we were recording."

Despite the vintage touches, it's the band's mix of European and African players, as well as its contrast in generations (with all the European members in their 30s and the Zambians in their 60s and 70s), that has infused the new music with fresh rhythmic and melodic flourishes.

Onstage in Brooklyn, Chanda easily outpaced his younger bandmates, headbanging, jittering and shaking throughout the night. (His old nickname was Jagger, as in Mick, for his stage moves.) "I didn't want to be in another man's shadow," Chanda said, explaining why he added an "i" to the end of his adopted first name to make it Jagari, which means a brewer of brown sugar in a local language. "I Africanized it!"

Bands like the Rolling Stones entranced Chanda from an early age. He first heard their music, as well as that of Grand Funk Railroad and Black Sabbath, on jukeboxes at bars and via radio stations based in Zimbabwe. To young Zambians like Chanda, the bold sound of Stratocasters symbolized the feeling of freedom their country had finally won from Britain in 1964. "Every town had a band or two," the singer said. "My town had five or six."

Chanda learned guitar from a friend's brother. In 1971, while in high school, he joined Witch, which mixed Western rock with local kalindula rhythms, helping set off the Zamrock movement. "Not to take anything away from the other great Zambian rock bands, but Witch was on another level," said Eothen Alapatt, who heads Now-Again Records, a U.S.-based label that reissued its classic work. "Over the course of five records, they showcased tremendous range and development."

Chanda put it simply: "Witch was the band everyone wanted to join."

But the Zamrock renaissance was shortlived. By the late '70s, Zambia's economy had cratered with tumbling copper prices. Conflicts in neighboring countries spilled over into Zambia, leading the government to declare curfews and blackouts that made concerts rare. "Music became a luxury people couldn't afford," Chanda said.

Then came AIDS, which decimated large portions of the population. With a new family to support, Chanda quit playing music and began teaching it at Lusaka College. Later, he became a civil servant, but he was fired after being accused of picking up a shipment of drugs at an airport in the mid-90s; the charges were later dropped. To keep his family going, he worked in the mines, and got sober and became religious. Even with the influx of money from touring in recent years, Chanda still digs for gemstones in rough earth to make ends meet. "At this age, it's hard work for me," he said, "especially in Africa where it's hotter."

The chance to tour and create fresh music with new musicians has reinvigorated him. "Jagari wasn't saying, 'You have to make the exact Zamrock sound,'" Gardner said. "He said, 'Make it your own.'"

Chanda's new lyrics, which he delivers in English and several languages local to Zambia, cover both personal and political topics. "Stop the Rot," sung in Bemba, criticizes those who still practice witchcraft in Zambia. "It's detrimental to a developing country," he said. "Message From Witch" features entreaties to halt a host of prejudices, including antisemitism and homophobia — a proclamation that represents a considerable risk in Zambia, where gay sexual activity can draw prison sentences of 15 years or more.

Given the escalating demand for Witch to tour — the group completed three jaunts in 2022 — Chanda has big dreams for the future. He hopes to make enough money to afford an excavator to ease the toil of his mining, and he wants to fund a music school back home. He admitted that he sometimes thinks back to his fallen bandmates. "I do wish that group was here," he said.

At the same time, his philosophy of positivity and stalwart faith has inspired him to focus on his new chance. "I'm not here because I'm clever," he said with his reliable smile. "It's God. *His* grace has allowed me to live again."

Billy Joel's Madison Square Garden Run to End in 2024

The star's monthly residency influenced the music industry.

By BEN SISARIO

In December 1978, Billy Joel headlined Madison Square Garden for the first time, playing three shows on the tour for his first No. 1 album, "52nd Street." Dozens more performances followed there over the years, and in January 2014, Joel began a monthly residency as the Garden's first "music franchise."

Now the monthly gig is coming to an end. On Thursday, Joel and the Garden announced his final 10 shows in the series, saying the residency will conclude in July 2024 with his 104th show in the series, his 150th lifetime performance at the Garden.

"I'm kind of flabbergasted that it lasted as long as it did," Joel said at a news conference at the Garden. "My team tells me that we could continue to sell tickets, but 10 years, 150 shows — all right already!"

James L. Dolan, chief executive of MSG Entertainment, which owns the Garden, added, "Billy Joel's franchise run has made history — not only for Madison Square Garden, but also for the music industry overall."

Joel's run at the Garden has been a cultural phenomenon and a business unto itself. Every show has sold out, and aside from a dozen or two standards — you are all but guaranteed to hear "Piano Man," "Allentown," "New York State of Mind" and "It's Still Rock and Roll to Me" — the set list varies enough to keep fans coming back again and again. The roster of special guests has included Bruce Springsteen, Tony Bennett, Olivia Rodrigo and Joel's daughter Alexa Ray Joel.

The residency has continued on a roughly monthly schedule since its inception, aside from an 18-month break during the Covid-19 pandemic, returning in November 2021.

According to the trade publication Pollstar, Joel's residency has played to nearly 1.7 million people through its 89th performance in April, and sold $207 million in tickets. By his final show, the residency will have grossed over $250 million.

The residency idea came about after Celine Dion's two record-breaking runs in Las Vegas, which started in 2003 and ultimately sold about $660 million in tickets. But Joel balked at traveling there. "I knew I didn't want to be a resident in a place like Vegas," he once said. "I don't even like Vegas."

Joel's performances at the Garden have become "the Super Bowl of music events," Dennis Arfa, his longtime booking agent, told The New York Times last year. It has also inspired a new residency model in the music business, with some superstar artists preferring longer stays at a smaller number of venues, rather than crisscrossing the map one gig at a time — a move that can reduce touring costs and provide a bit of branding buzz. Last year, for example, Harry Styles played 15 dates at the Garden and, in late 2022 and 2023, another 15 at the Kia Forum in Inglewood, Calif.

'My team tells me that we could continue to sell tickets, but 10 years, 150 shows — all right already!'

BILLY JOEL

Joel, 74, will begin his 10 countdown shows on Oct. 20. A representative for the singer said that Joel is not retiring.

"There's only one thing that's more New York than Billy Joel," Mayor Eric Adams of New York said in a statement, "and that's a Billy Joel concert at MSG."

DESIREE RIOS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Revelers at last year's Pride March in Manhattan. The actor and singer Billy Porter and the activist Randy Wicker are among the grand marshals of this year's event, which will take place on June 25 and is to be broadcast on ABC 7.

Plenty of Events to Celebrate Strength and Solidarity

Indulge in gay nostalgia with Christina Aguilera and Junior Vasquez, see Billy Porter in person at this year's Pride March or dance the night away at a 15-hour party.

By ERIK PIEPENBURG

New York City's official Pride theme this year is Strength in Solidarity, an apt reminder that Pride was born as a protest movement against bigotry wherever it manifests. Not that there isn't room to party, too.

The actor and singer Billy Porter and the activist Randy Wicker are among the grand marshals of this year's Pride March, which kicks off at noon on June 25 at 25th Street and Fifth Avenue. (It will be broadcast on ABC 7.) Also that day, Christina Aguilera headlines Pride Island, the big annual dance party, at Brooklyn Army Terminal.

New York's official Pride calendar also features a Juneteenth brunch with Black L.G.B.T.Q. chefs on June 18 and, on June 24, events centered on people of color and a Youth Pride party.

Other area Pride marches and festivals will be held in the Hudson Valley (Saturday); Queens (Sunday); Brooklyn (June 10); Long Island (June 11); the Bronx (June 17); and Harlem (June 24). The annual Dyke March — "a protest march, not a parade," according to organizers — is June 24.

Party, People

Gen Xers who came of age in New York are in for two doses of gay nostalgia this month. Junior Vasquez — whose track "If Madonna Calls" is a gay '90s anthem — spins at Fire Island's Ice Palace (Saturday). The cabaret singer Joey Arias, who was a glam presence at the Fiorucci store and the Wigstock festival, performs at Red Eye in Manhattan (June 28).

On June 23, Queer|Art, an organization of L.G.B.T.Q. artists, and Body Hack, a mutual aid project for transgender and nonbinary groups, are throwing a 15-hour party at the Ridgewood venue Nowadays to raise funds for transgender rights in the South. There will be a daytime queer vendor fair and a dance party until daybreak.

If the water calls you, you have several chances all month to take a Sparkle in the Dark Pride cruise on Manhattan's waterfront, with killer views of the Statue of Liberty, cocktails and late-night dancing.

Picture This

Queer desire drives two new exhibitions in Manhattan. At the Leslie-Lohman Museum of Art through July 16 is "I Love You Like Mirrors Do," Coyote Park's show of photographs that documents their love between partners past and present. "Under Cover: J.C. Leyendecker and American Masculinity," at the New-York Historical Society through Aug. 13, explores the gay undertones in the artist's paintings and print advertisements.

Through June 30, the Queens Museum and the nonprofit group Photoville present "Live Pridefully," an interdisciplinary exhibition in Rizzuto Park in Richmond Hill, Queens. Curated by Mohamed Q. Amin, the executive director of the Caribbean Equality Project, the exhibit "celebrates queer and trans Caribbean resilience through a racial justice lens," according to the museum.

Learn Something

The Bureau of General Services — Queer Division, a bookstore inside the L.G.B.T. Community Center in the West Village, sex expert Zachary Zane will discuss his new book of essays, "Boyslut: A Memoir and Manifesto," with Jordyn Taylor, an editor at Men's Health. The next evening, Avgi Saketopoulou and Ann Pellegrini will talk about their new book, "Gender Without Identity," which explores theories of gender formation. Both events will be live-streamed on YouTube.

Throughout June, the Whitney Museum of American Art leads Queer History Walks in Manhattan's meatpacking district, focused on the neighborhood's L.G.B.T.Q. past. Pride Tours NYC offers daily guided walking tours, with stops at the Stonewall Inn and Julius' Bar, the site of New York's first sip-in.

Screen and Be Seen

Newfest, New York's annual L.G.B.T.Q. film festival, runs through June 5 with in-person and virtual programs. On Monday, Newfest and Rooftop Films present a free outdoor screening of "The Stroll," a documentary directed by Kristen Lovell and Zackary Drucker about the history of the meatpacking district, from the perspective of transgender sex workers.

On June 21, Rooftop Films and the Fort Greene Park Conservancy collaborate on "Queerly Beloved: Pride Shorts in the Park," a free program of short films from around the world, at Fort Greene Park in Brooklyn.

Other film options this month include "Doll Parts," the Alamo Drafthouse's five-movie series covering 70 years of transgender films, and "Queer Cinema, Top to Bottom," a 10-film program at the Museum of the Moving Image curated by the critic (and New York Times contributor) Kyle Turner.

Drag Yourself

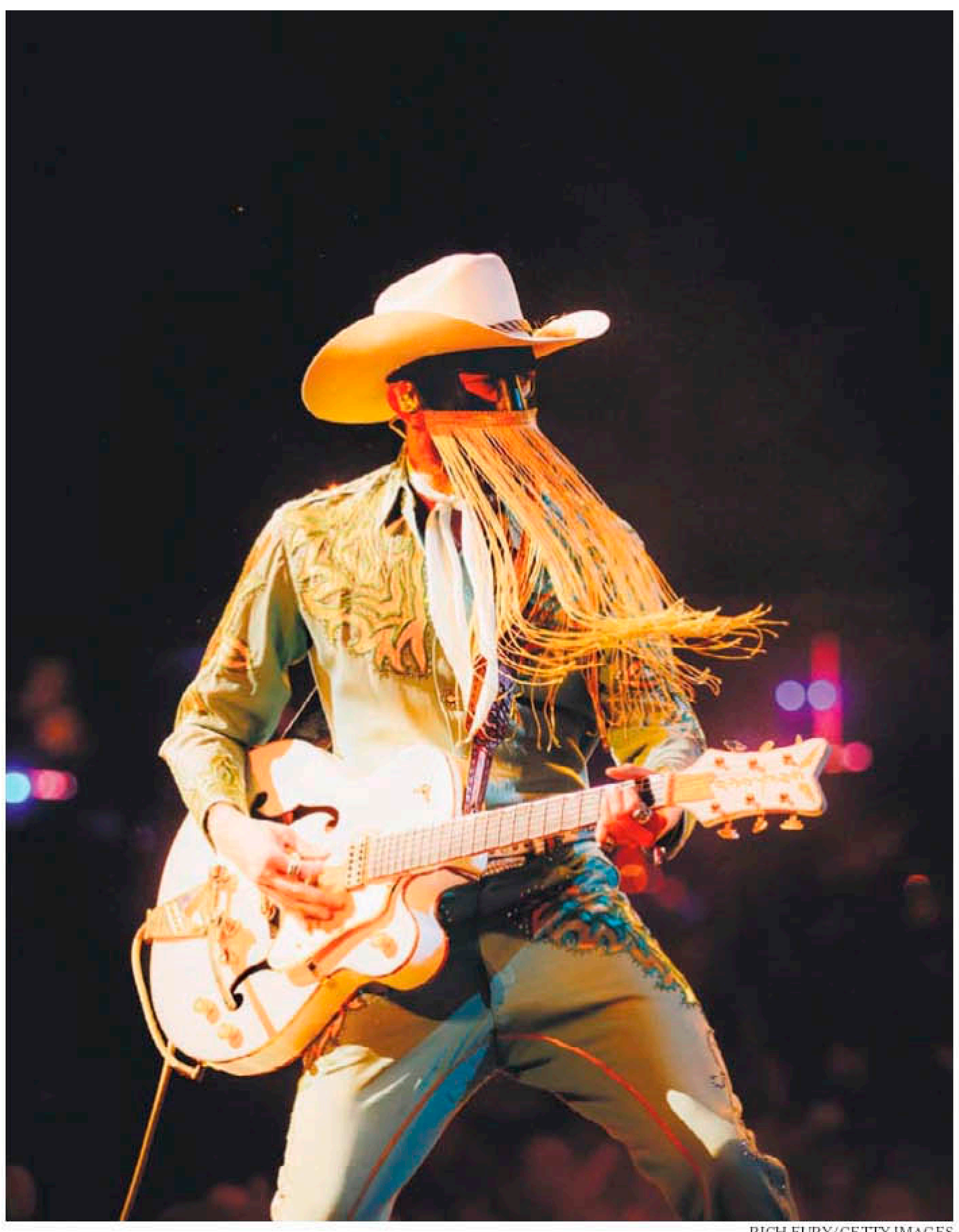
On June 14, the Queens Botanical Garden in Flushing hosts "Queens at the Garden," an all-ages evening of drag performances hosted by Marti Cummings and featuring Nani Tsunami and Janae SaisQuoi.

The "RuPaul's Drag Race Werq the World" tour sashays into Atlantic City's Tropicana Casino and Resort on June 17. If you want to support up-and-comers, the new website See the Queens lets you search by neighborhood or queen.

On June 24, the drag queen Donna Ria Montgomery emcees Drag Brunch Bingo at Lacey's Bridge Tavern, an Italian restaurant in the Port Richmond neighborhood of Staten Island. Tickets include five bingo cards (but bring your own dauber).

VIA SUNDANCE INSTITUTE

A scene from the documentary "The Stroll," directed by Kristen Lovell and Zackary Drucker. It will be shown in a free outdoor screening at Newfest.



RICH FURY/GETTY IMAGES

Orville Peck will play at the Theater at Madison Square Garden on June 20.

The Gay Stage

Lincoln Center's "Summer for the City" festival will feature several L.G.B.T.Q. events, including the National Queer Theater's Criminal Queerness Festival (June 21-23) and a family-friendly performance by the L.G.B.T.Q. mariachi group Mariachi Arcoiris de Los Angeles (June 24).

Set in 1979, Nora Burns's "The Village, a Disco Daydream" is a show about two men who find love (and sex) through a shared love of the dance floor. It runs through June 23 at Dixon Place.

Queer and country? The gay cowboy mystery man Orville Peck plays the Theater at Madison Square Garden on June 20. Queer and classical? Handel and Billy Strayhorn are part of Montclair Early Music's "Rainbow Rhapsody" concert in Montclair, N.J., on June 25.

New works by Emily Aviles and Júlia Cerqueira are part of the Tank's annual PrideFest (June 16-25). The performance festival highlights work that "celebrates the queer community in its healing," according to organizers.

Take the Kids

Children and teenagers can celebrate Pride by getting crafty. On Friday, Poster House hosts two family-friendly events: an origami workshop by Taro's Origami Studio and a poster-making class with the designer Acacia Rodriguez.

On Saturday, King Manor, a historic house museum in Jamaica, Queens, hosts a Pride-themed afternoon during which children can design rainbow salt-dough heart ornaments, a popular craft during the Victorian era.

An all-ages Pride weekend at the Bronx Zoo (Saturday and Sunday) includes live music and rainbow flag-making classes.

Be a Good Sport

Rainbow socks pair well with any running shoe. Show off yours at three runs: Pound Ridge Color Run in the Hudson Valley (Saturday); Brooklyn Pride L.G.B.T.Q.I.A. 5K (June 10) and Front Runners New York L.G.B.T. Pride Run (June 24).

Urbanswim, a group that organizes open water events, will gather on June 24 for its Pride Swim, a current-assisted 1.5-mile swim in the Hudson River.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MAXWELL VICE

FREE FESTIVALS

Art, Music and Films That Don't Cost a Dime

By DANIELLE DOWLING and MELISSA SMITH

New York is expensive, it's true. But on any given day, you can enjoy art without spending a dime. Spring and summer, in particular, are loaded with free festivals, concert series and other events. Here are some of our favorites.

EVELYN FREJA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A crowd gathering at Lincoln Center's outdoor dance floor, part of a free social dance series.

Summer on the Hudson

Through Sept. 30 at Riverside Park South and West Harlem Piers Park, Manhattan; nycgovparks.org.

For those looking for last-minute activities, on most summer days this Riverside Park Conservancy series will have something to offer, including tai chi classes, art lessons, concerts, movie and game nights, dance performances, as well as a kite festival on Aug. 19 and a county fair set for Sept. 10.

Second Sundays

Through Nov. 12, Pioneer Works, 159 Pioneer Street, Brooklyn; pioneerworks.org.

From noon to 7 p.m. on the second Sundays of the months from spring to fall, this art space in Red Hook opens its doors and garden to the community for a day of music, art, interaction and food. On view through June 11 is "What Is Psychedelic," a survey of Aura Rosenberg's works.

Bryant Park Picnic Performances

Through Sept. 14, Bryant Park, Manhattan; bryantpark.org.

What's better than lying out on the lawn of Bryant Park basking in the electric glow of Midtown at night? Doing that while enjoying a free serving of entertainment. Every Friday evening this summer, as well as on some Thursdays in June and August, there will be something going on at the park, including contemporary dance programs in June, Carnegie Hall-sponsored concerts in July, an accordion festival in August and performances by New York City Opera throughout the season.

Films on the Green

Through Sept. 8 at various parks in Manhattan and Brooklyn; villa-albertine.org/events.

Seeking to foster a cultural exchange between the United States and France, Villa Albertine, in partnership with the New York City Department of Parks and Recreation and FACE Foundation, is presenting this outdoor French film festival at locations such as Marcus Garvey Park in Harlem and Monsignor McGolrick Park in Greenpoint. This year's theme is dance, and movies such as "The Young Girls of Rochefort" and "French Cancan" are on the lineup.

SummerStage

Saturday-Sept. 30 at various city parks; cityparksfoundation.org/summerstage.

Since the Central Park Conservancy founded SummerStage in 1986, the annual series has expanded to include parks throughout the boroughs. The concert series offers something for everyone, from the Metropolitan Opera Summer Recitals in June to a commemoration of Bastille Day in July to the Charlie Parker Jazz Festival and shows celebrating 50 years of hip-hop in August. Many of the performances are free, but some charge admission.

BRIC Celebrate Brooklyn!

Wednesday-Aug. 24 at the Lena Horne Bandshell in Prospect Park, Brooklyn; bricartsmedia.org.

Celebrating its 45th anniversary this summer, BRIC Arts Media's festival honors the diversity of Brooklyn through myriad music and dance concerts that embrace a spectrum of genres. Most shows, which this year include performances from Taj Mahal, Rennie Harris, and the Wallflowers, are free and in Prospect Park, though the festival will relocate to Highland Park on June 25, and BRIC will fund its programming with benefit concerts featuring artists such as Robert Glasper, Band of Horses and Alvvays.

Shakespeare in the Park

Thursday-Aug. 6 at Delacorte Theater, 81 Central Park West, Manhattan; publictheater.org.

With the exception of a two-year hiatus brought on by the pandemic, the Public Theater has presented this treasured annual series at the Delacorte every year since 1962. To score tickets, you can wait in line at the Delacorte on the day of the show or on the standby line right before the curtain goes up; you can participate in an in-person lottery at the Public or a digital one on the TodayTix app; or starting on June 15 you can visit one of the borough distribution sites (for dates and locations, go to the Public's website). This summer's production is "Hamlet," starring Ato Blankson-Wood and directed by Kenny Leon.

River to River Festival

June 9-18 at locations in Lower Manhattan; lmcc.net/river-to-river-festival.

Presented by the Lower Manhattan Cultural Council, this festival was conceived to celebrate the city's resilience after Sept. 11 by connecting New Yorkers with local artists through outdoor art and cultural events. From Marta Blair's participatory mural to Linda K. Jacobs's walking tours of Little Syria, the focus of the 12 presentations featured this year is on reclamation, resistance and interconnectivity.

'Rule-Breakers and Troublemakers'

June 9-Aug. 1 at the Parade Ground, Governors Island; govisland.com.

Governors Island Arts and Film at Lincoln Center will present this free outdoor film series on three summer Fridays, starting at 8:30 p.m. F. Gary Gray's heist film "Set It Off," starring Vivica A. Fox, Queen Latifah and Jada Pinkett Smith, kicks off the program on June 9, followed by Steven Soderbergh's "Out of Sight," based on an Elmore Leonard novel, on July 7, and the underdogs-make-good classic "Bend It Like Beckham" on Aug. 11.

Paramount+ Movie Nights

June 12-Aug. 12 at Bryant Park, Manhattan; bryantpark.org.

This 30-year Midtown tradition gives us at least one reason to like Mondays. From mid-June to mid-August, you can cap off the first day of the workweek by stretching out on the park's lawn and taking in a lineup of films curated in partnership with New York magazine that includes nostalgic favorites like "Roman Holiday," "Swingers" and "Mean Girls." Get there at 5 p.m. to grab a spot and some food from a pop-up market by the fountain offering a weekly rotation from vendors across the city; the film will start screening at 8 p.m.

Concerts in the Park

June 13-18 at locations throughout the five boroughs; nyphil.org/parks.

Since 1965, the New York Philharmonic has come to New Yorkers where they live and treated them to a free summer serenade. This year's series will include works by Copland, Beethoven, Rossini, Strauss and the Philharmonic's Very Young Composers Program and will be performed at Van Cortlandt Park in the Bronx on June 13; the Great Lawn in Central Park on June 14; Cunningham Park in Queens on June 15; Prospect Park in Brooklyn on June 16; and St. George Theater on Staten Island on June 18.

The Museum Mile Festival

June 13 on Fifth Avenue, from 84th to 105th Streets, Manhattan.

It's the block party to top all others: From 6 to 9 p.m., the stretch of Fifth Avenue that contains some of the city's most notable museums will become a free treasure trove. Not only will institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art, El Museo del Barrio and the Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum forgo admission, they will entertain visitors with performances and activities.

Summer for the City

June 14-Aug. 12 at Lincoln Center, Manhattan; lincolncenter.org.

Lincoln Center's seasonal arts festival is back with hundreds of events, from readings to workshops to outdoor film screenings to jazz, classical, folk and dance concerts. Weeklong festivals will include celebrations of Korean culture in July and of hip-hop's 50th anniversary in August. The biggest draw will likely be the mega mirror ball above the dance floor on Lincoln Center's plaza, where multiple times each week swing, salsa, disco and other bands will give visitors a reason to groove.

Movies With a View

July 6-Aug. 24 on Pier 1 Harbor View Lawn at Brooklyn Bridge Park, Brooklyn; brooklynbridgepark.org.

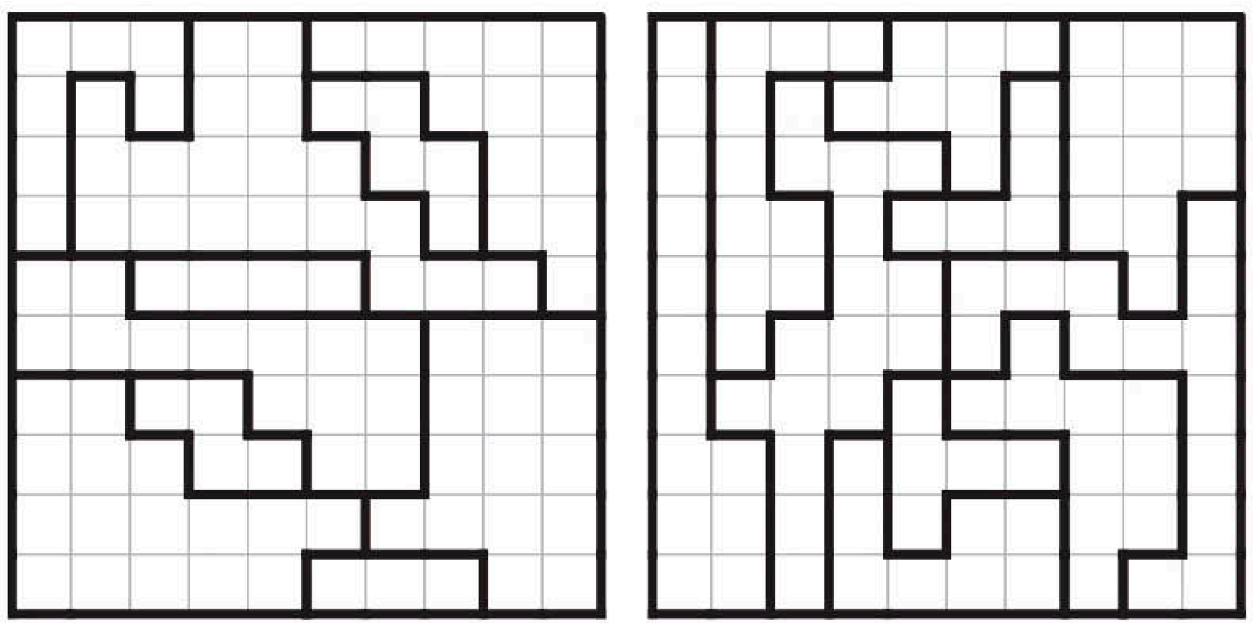
There are few better ways to enjoy a movie in summer than by having the skyline of Lower Manhattan rising beyond the screen. This year, the Brooklyn Bridge Park Conservancy will present a lineup of movies that includes "E.T. the Extra Terrestrial," "Everything Everywhere All at Once" and "Goodfellas." Screenings are on every Thursday in July and August and start at sundown. Arrive early to enjoy concessions from TimeOut Market and entertainment provided Brooklyn Radio D.J.s. And don't forget to bring your own blanket or lawn chair.

Battery Dance Festival

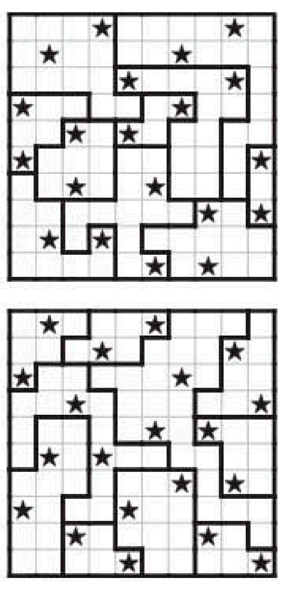
Aug. 12-19 at Rockefeller Park, 75 Battery Place, Manhattan; batterydance.org.

If you like being immersed in dance with the Hudson River as a backdrop, check out the Battery Dance Festival. For eight nights, dance troupes from all over the city, across the country and around the globe take to a stage at the edge of Manhattan to perform for in-person and livestreaming audiences. This year's lineup features companies such as Trainor Dance, Rudrakshya Foundation and Carolyn Dorfman Dance.

Two Not Touch



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES



Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

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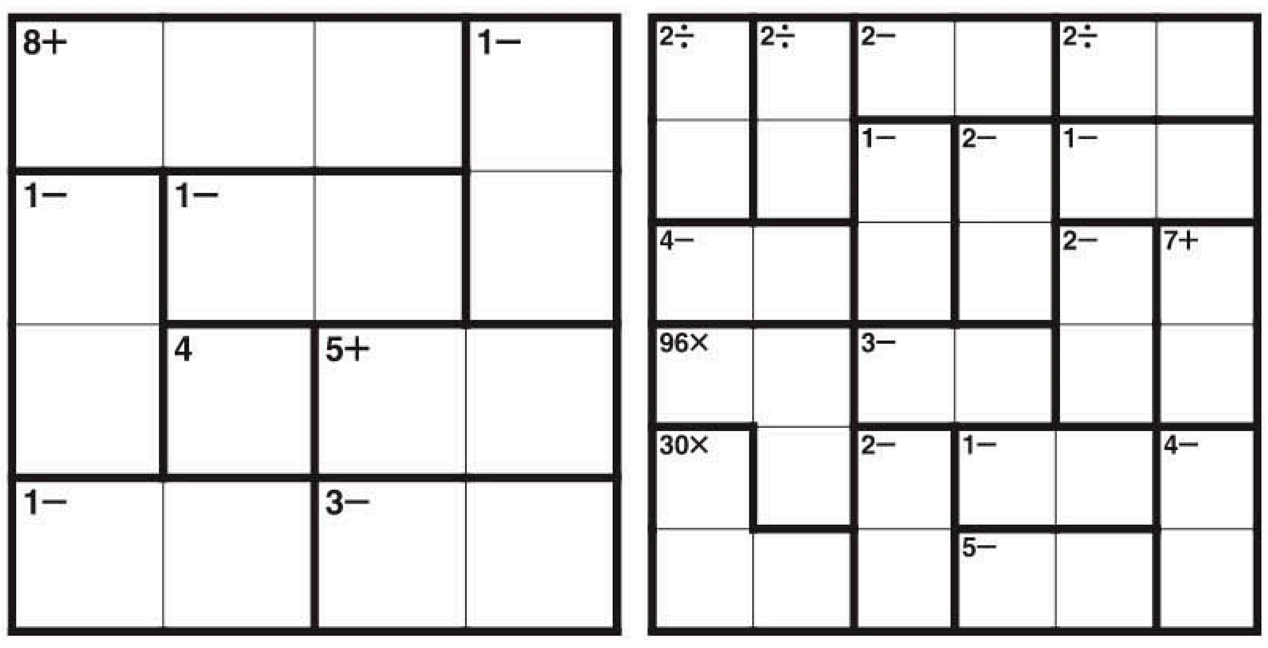
Brain Tickler

The name of what Major League Baseball team becomes the name of another M.L.B. team by adding two letters at the end?

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

YESTERDAY'S ANSWER My elderly parrot has passed away. It's a big loss, but also a weight off my shoulders.

KenKen



ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

3	1	4	2
2	4	3	1
1	3	2	4
4	2	1	3

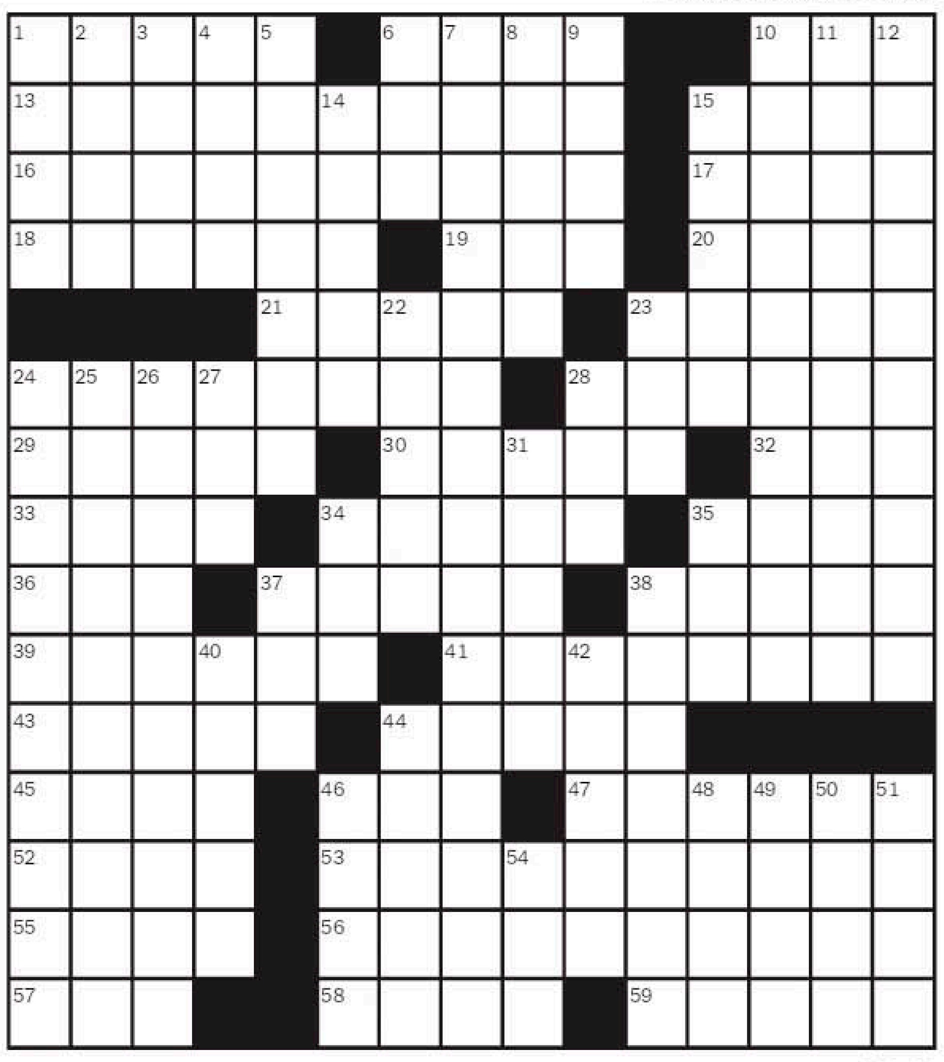
6	4	3	5	1	2
5	3	2	1	4	6
3	2	4	6	5	1
1	6	5	4	2	3
4	1	6	2	3	5
2	5	1	3	6	4

Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY JOHN EWBANK



6/2/23

ACROSS

1 Police officers, in British slang
6 Promotes, informally
10 Provisos
13 Subject of the Jake Gyllenhaal movies "Donnie Darko" and "Source Code"
15 Small fragment
16 Genre for "Dune" and "Flash Gordon"
17 European tourist attraction that's erupted in popularity
18 Party animal?
19 Brink
20 Arctic food fish
21 Part of a comic strip
23 Something out standing in its field?
24 Styx figure
28 Any of the "Bad Boys" in the 1980s-'90s N.B.A.
29 Traveler's aid
30 Traveler's aid
32 Figure at a shareholders' meeting, in brief
33 Engaged in
34 In check
35 Out to lunch
36 Targets for crunches, informally
37 Swell
38 "Look for yourself"
39 Full of pluck
41 They're first to play
43 Goes on and on
44 Maker of Gator utility vehicles
45 "Post hoc, ___ propter hoc" (causal fallacy)
46 Any chess move in which one gives up a piece, informally
47 Reach through reasoning
52 Hawk
53 One working with a set of keys
55 Language spoken in Canada
56 General motor?
57 Doofus
58 Org. with a small, one-story building in Times Square
59 Mergers and acquisitions

DOWN

1 Possible concern for a vet
2 Certain cosmetic procedure, for short
3 Land with an exclave on the Strait of Hormuz
4 Hit the ___
5 Skyline sight
6 Freestyle, e.g.
7 It's an uphill climb from here
8 Jeopardy
9 Wrestling move
10 "Well, then ..."
11 You can take it or leave it
12 Website with a No Fear Shakespeare section
14 Adjective applied to the U.K.'s Air Force and Navy, but not Army
15 Vaishnavism and Shaivism, e.g.
22 "Groovy!"
23 Member of the fam
24 Taqueria beverage
25 Attendants at a saturnalia
26 Billboard Hot 100 listings
27 Marriage agreement?
28 Suffer consequences
31 Milky drink
34 Gymnast Raisman
35 "i" piece
37 Group with 26-Down in Korean, Japanese and English
38 Waved at, say
40 Loosely worn item of attire
42 Zeal
44 No-no for a vegan
46 About 80 meters, for an Airbus A380
48 "So inconsiderate!"
49 ___ Empire
50 Wiener schnitzel ingredient
51 Has it wrong
54 Positive indication?

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

R	E	A	P	■	■	G	R	A	D	■	B	R	A	S
H	A	L	O	■	S	H	A	D	E	■	L	E	G	O
O	U	T	O	4	H	A	N	D	S	■	U	T	E	S
■	■	■	H	8	E	N	■	S	E	R	R	A	N	O
I	P	A	■	C	L	A	N	■	L	I	B	I	D	O
F	O	R	M	A	L	■	O	P	E	C	■	N	A	N
S	P	O	O	F	S	■	T	A	C	O	S	■	■	■
O	U	S	T	■	■	I	2	N	T	H	U	R	T	■
■	P	E	T	I	T	S	4	S	■	■	S	E	A	S
■	■	■	O	R	A	L	B	■	A	T	H	O	M	E
A	V	A	■	I	K	E	A	■	S	O	I	R	E	E
N	O	L	O	S	E	■	D	R	I	P	■	G	R	R
G	O	T	T	H	A	T	■	A	T	1	D	■	■	■
E	D	I	T	■	C	R	E	D	I	2	R	T	H	Y
R	O	M	E	■	A	U	R	A	S	■	O	B	O	E

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SUMMER TV

30 Shows to Watch This Season

CHUCK HODES/FX

By MIKE HALE

This summer, there's nothing so new on television as something old. Series are emerging two years ("The Witcher"), four ("Black Mirror"), eight ("Justified: Primeval City"), 10 ("Futurama") and 25 ("The Full Monty") after you last had to think about them or the works from which they have been spun off.

On the other hand, it's also a bountiful summer for newer favorites, full of the second or third or fourth seasons of popular or praiseworthy (sometimes both) recent shows like "The Bear," "Heartstopper," "How to With John Wilson," "Never Have I Ever," "Only Murders in the Building," "Physical," "Reservation Dogs" and "Tom Clancy's Jack Ryan."

One final thing to say about the new normal on TV: More than a few of those buzzy shows will be ending this summer. The minimum benchmark for long-term success used to be 100 episodes; now you can take a bow at 18 or 24. At least it looks as if we'll always have "It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia."

Here are 30 shows to keep an eye out for this summer, in chronological order. Premiere dates are subject to change.

LARA SOLANKI/NETFLIX

'The Idol'

Lily-Rose Depp as the titular idol and the Weeknd (Abel Tesfaye) as her Svengali in the series already established as the hate watch of the summer, clearly to the delight of its creators (who include Sam Levinson of "Euphoria") and its network. (HBO, Sunday)

'The Lazarus Project'

Joe Barton, the creator of the wildly entertaining yakuza-in-London series "Giri/Haji," created and wrote this time-jumping blend of science fiction and international crime drama. Paapa Essiedu plays a London app developer who seems to be the only person who notices that time keeps resetting, until he's recruited by the shadowy international agency that's resetting it. (TNT, Sunday)

'The Luckiest Guy in the World'

The distinguished documentarian Steve James, who made his name with "Hoop Dreams," returns to basketball with this four-part "30 for 30" series about the free-spirited big man Bill Walton, a sports star who was not made for our times. (ESPN, Tuesday)

'It's Always Sunny in Philadelphia'

It takes a certain sort of genius to milk 16 seasons (with two more already committed) out of the premise that Philadelphians are stupid. (FXX, Wednesday)

'Somewhere Boy'

The young Scottish actor Lewis Gribben has won acclaim for his performance in this bittersweet British drama about a teenager venturing into the world after being kept in loving captivity by his father for most of his life. (Hulu, Wednesday)

'Never Have I Ever'

Netflix's crowd-pleasing comedy about an Indian-American high schooler heads toward graduation; its fourth season has been announced as its last, so Devi (Maitreyi Ramakrishnan) won't be repeating senior year. (Netflix, Thursday)

'Based on a True Story'

Chris Messina stars as a struggling tennis pro and Kaley Cuoco as a struggling, pregnant real-estate agent (and true-crime buff) whose marriage is drifting; when she decides that someone close to them is a serial killer, they suddenly find themselves with a new business opportunity. It's a sendup of true-crime obsession in the vein of "Only Murders in the Building," but relocated to Southern California and more aggressively morbid in its humor. (Peacock, Thursday)

TNT

'The Crowded Room'

The simple act of naming the book that this series is based on would violate the stringent spoiler rules set up by Apple and the show's creator, Akiva Goldsman. So while you Google it, we'll just say that the series co-stars Amanda Seyfried, and you should never miss a chance to watch her. (Apple TV+, June 9)

PETER KRAMER/AMC

'Father Brown'

The coziest of cozy British mysteries, based on G.K. Chesterton's stories about a crime-solving priest in the Cotswolds in the 1950s, reaches its 10th season with an 11th on the way. (BritBox, June 13)

'The Full Monty'

Whether or not you were a fan of the 1997 film about stripping British steelworkers, or of the musical that was derived from it, it's of at least academic interest that many of the original cast members, including Robert Carlyle, Mark Addy, Lesley Sharp and Tom Wilkinson, have returned to play quarter-century-older versions of their characters in this sequel series. (FX on Hulu, June 14)

'Black Mirror'

Back for a sixth season of cultural hegemony, obtained via mildly weirding us out while reassuring us that we're very up-to-date. Performers to look forward to in the new season include Anjana Vasan of "Killing Eve," Monica Dolan and Zazie Beetz. (Netflix, June 15)

From top: Timothy Olyphant in "Justified: City Primeval"; in "Never Have I Ever," from left, Richa Moorjani, Poorna Jagannathan, Maitreyi Ramakrishnan, Ranjita Chakravarty and Lee Rodriguez; Paapa Essiedu in "The Lazarus Project"; and "The Walking Dead: Dead City." Above right, Idris Elba in "Hijack." Below, Abel Tesfaye, a.k.a. the Weeknd, in "The Idol."

'Star Trek: Strange New Worlds'

It's the second season of "Star Trek": original formula, so strap in for more cosmic do-goodery and agonized parsing of the Prime Directive. If your dream has always been to see Carol Kane play an officer on the Enterprise, you're in luck; we can hope she'll be given more to do than Amanda Plummer was given on "Star Trek: Picard." (Paramount+, June 15)

'Walking Dead: Dead City'

Not the spinoff in which Andrew Lincoln returns as Rick Grimes — that's next year — but the one in which those fan-favorite frenemies, Lauren Cohan's Maggie and Jeffrey Dean Morgan's Negan, venture into Manhattan, which, as you can imagine, is chock-full o' zombies. (AMC, June 18)

'Secret Invasion'

Samuel L. Jackson makes his first non-drive-by live-action appearance as Nick Fury since "Captain Marvel" in 2019, starring in the latest Marvel series for Disney+ (No. 9 and counting). Jackson told Entertainment Weekly that the story about alien Skrulls infiltrating Earth gave him "an opportunity to explore something other than the badassery of who Nick Fury is," which sounds like a be-careful-what-you-wish-for situation. (Disney+, June 21)

'The Bear'

Last year's breakout drama, about a chef working through his personal issues while taking over the kitchen of his family's Chicago sandwich shop, returns for a second season and adds Bob Odenkirk to its cast. (FX on Hulu, June 22)

'I'm a Virgo'

The rapper, filmmaker, satirist and provocateur Boots Riley ("Sorry to Bother You") created this high-concept comedy starring Jharrel Jerome as a 13-foot Oakland teenager. (Amazon Prime Video, June 23)

'Hijack'

A flight to Heathrow is commandeered by a desperate crew with mysterious motives. Idris Elba plays the passenger who has unsuspected skills in a thriller from directors, writers and producers associated with "Criminal: U.K.," "Lupin" and "Slow Horses." (Apple TV+, June 28)

'Ten Year Old Tom'

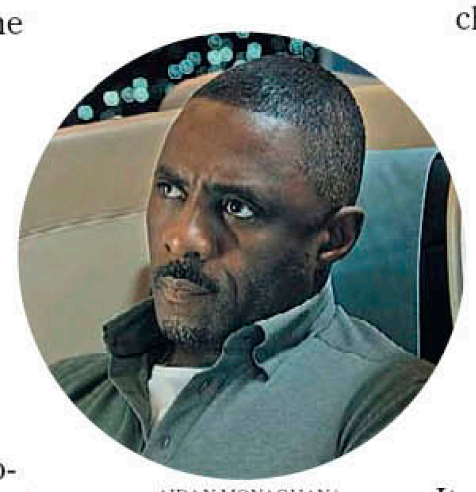
Steve Dildarian's low-fi animated comedy about an improbably mature but still painfully naïve 10-year-old whose life is an obstacle course of inappropriate and unhelpful adults returns. That it's getting a second season is pretty improbable in itself.

'The Witcher'

As stars of cheesily entertaining sword-and-sex-and-sorcery shows go, Henry Cavill — with his ability to seem very serious while not taking himself too seriously — remains the most enjoyable to watch. This easygoing medieval-ish adventure's third season will be Cavill's last as the monster hunter Geralt of Rivia — he will be replaced for Season 4 by Liam Hemsworth. (Netflix, June 29)

'D.I. Ray'

Two decades on from "Bend It Like Beckham," Parminder Nagra gets to headline her own British mystery, playing a detective inspector in a series filmed in Birmingham. Jed Mercurio is an executive producer and the show was created by Maya Sondhi, who played the problematic Constable Maneet Bindra in Mercurio's "Line of Duty." (PBS, July 9)


AIDAN MONAGHAN/APPLE TV+

'Full Circle'

Claire Danes and Zazie Beetz star in a New York crime drama from the veteran screenwriter Ed Solomon ("Men in Black") and the director Steven Soderbergh. (Max, July 13)

'Survival of the Thickest'

The comedian and actress Michelle Buteau ("First Wives Club") stars in this newly-single-in-the-city comedy, playing a talented stylist who breaks up with her photographer boyfriend when she catches him in bed with a model several sizes smaller than herself. (Netflix, July 13)

'What We Do in the Shadows'

In the fifth season of Jemaine Clement's sweetly hilarious dysfunctional-family sitcom about a Staten Island nest of narcissistic vampires, the aspiring bloodsucker Guillermo (Harvey Guillén) keeps changing and the world's most boring vampire, Colin (Mark Proksch), runs for office. (FX, July 13)

'Justified: City Primeval'

Timothy Olyphant reprises his role as Deputy U.S. Marshal Raylan Givens in this spinoff from the hugely entertaining crime drama "Justified"; it arrives eight years after that show, and is set 15 years after its action ended. "Justified" writers and producers like Dave Andron, Michael Dinner, Walter Mosley and Graham Yost have joined Olyphant in the new project. Also returning: the spirit of Elmore Leonard, who invented the Givens character in the 1990s and whose novel "City Primeval: High Noon in Detroit" inspired the new series. (FX, July 18)

'Black Sands'

If grim but scenic Icelandic cop shows are your thing, you might want to check this one out. And slide over, if you don't mind. (Viaplay, July 20)

'Praise Petey'

Anna Drezen, a head writer on two recent seasons of "Saturday Night Live," left that job to give her full attention to developing this animated comedy. Annie Murphy of "Schitt's Creek" voices the title character, whose "Schitt's"-like arc takes her from the New York nightlife to a rural cult led by her father (Stephen Root). With luck, sufficient time will be devoted to Petey's mother, a high-maintenance magazine editor voiced by Christine Baranski. (Freeform, July 21)

'Futurama'

It should be an Easter egg extravaganza when this cult-favorite animated sci-fi comedy picks up its story lines again after a 10-year hiatus. The cast returns largely intact, which is easier to do when all you need to keep in shape is your voice. (Hulu, July 24)

'How to With John Wilson'

HBO offers a third and final season of Wilson's visual essays on the New York streetscape and mindscape — it's social media taken to the level of art, or documentary film adapted to the rhythms and attention span of social media. (HBO, July 28)

'Reservation Dogs'

Having had their California moment, the young heroes of this dreamlike yet astringent comedy come home to Oklahoma for Season 3. Yet another distinguished Indigenous actor, Graham Greene, joins the cast. (FX, Aug. 2)

'Painkiller'

The sordid story of the Sackler family and the opioid epidemic, already dealt with in productions like the mini-series "Dopesick" and the documentary "All the Beauty and the Bloodshed," will receive perhaps its most direct treatment yet in a mini-series starring Matthew Broderick as Richard Sackler. (Netflix, Aug. 10)

Samantha Resurfaces, Fleetingly

By JULIA JACOBS

Kim Cattrall, the actress who played the boldly sex-positive Samantha through six seasons and two movies of "Sex and the City" but who has been absent from the show's revival, to many fans' dismay, will appear in one scene of its second season, the streaming service Max confirmed on Thursday.

The reboot, called "And Just Like That," has followed the other three leading actors — Sarah Jessica Parker, Cynthia Nixon and Kristin Davis — as their characters navigated the relationship, career and family drama of their mid-50s. The question of whether Cattrall would return had been hanging over the show since its inception: She had declined to take part in a third film, and rumors of a feud between Parker and Cattrall had swirled for years.

On Thursday, Variety reported that in the upcoming season of the series on Max (previously HBO Max), Cattrall would make her return, but only in one scene — a phone conversation with Parker's character, Carrie Bradshaw — that was filmed without the other stars.

A representative for Cattrall did not immediately return a request for comment.